A DECLARATION OF SVCH true articles as George Ioye, hath gone about to confute as false.

BRITISH MUSEUM

Steuen Byſſhoppe of wyncheſter to the reader.

GOD geue the (gentle reader) iudgement to diſcerne truth from vntruth. Bytwene whiche two, in the perſonnes of me and Ioye, thou ſhalte ſe contencion. Wherin I haue not ſuch regard to the man, to diſpute with him (whom by ſaynt Poules counſayll, after ſo many admonitions, I ſhould exchue) but only to treate the matter, which nedeth true explication. As I haue contemned the ioyly hunter & other ianglers, wiſely in my frēdes opinions: ſo ſhould I do Ioye, for any thyng he hath ſaid of me. And agaynſt Ioye I ſtryue not, who ouerturneth him ſelfe, but am enforced to talke with hym, as a medler in the thinge, which I can not pretermitte, and ſuffre vndeclared. I can not frame my writinges meet for al mennes capacities, eyther lerning fayleth, or the matter wyll not ſuffre, good wyll wanteth not, whiche I wolde wiſſhe, were throughly perſuaded vnto the, with this alſo, that albeit, that tycles of our beleef, with knowledge ſufficient, for direction of our liuing, to goddes pleaſure, maye be comprehended of rude and vnlearned wittes: yet the diſcuſſion of the ſcriptures, requireth goddes further giftes of erudicion and lernynge. Farewell.

Verons Hunting of Purgatory.

To George Joye.

After your boke, hath ben well worne in the handes of youre fauourers, it is comme at the laste to myne, If I had soner had it, I wold soner haue entered thopenyng of that matter, not to contend with you (whose raylinge I esteme no more then I do the ioylye hunters of the fore, & other of that rable) but to declare the truthe, in the matters ye improue: therrour wherin, is very daungerous, & the true vnderstanding very profitable. Ye take vpon you to confute winchesters false articles, as ye terme them: the truth wherof, I shall examyne hereafter, In the meane time I meruayle, howe such matter as I spake by mouthe, in the instructing and teachinge of Barnes, at suche tyme, as by his owne sute, to the kinges maiesty he submitted him selfe to be my scoler, shoulde come to your handes wrytten or vnwritten, and who toulde tales out of scoole. For Barnes had but one scoole felow with him, and betwene vs was no wrytinge, but takinge vpon me the place of a teacher at Barnes desyre: I vttered some such matters as ye wryte of, but more at large, to Barnes and his scoole felowe, by waye of doctrine, with some other explication, then ye do set fourthe. And it shal not be out of purpose, to speake somwhat of Barnes, of myne acquain

taunce with hym, and what hath chaunced betwene him and me, whereby may appeare, howe truly and charitably you maister Joy and suche as ye be report of me concerning Barnes, whom I knewe fyrst, at Cambridge, a trymme minion frere Augustine, one of a merye skoffynge witte frerelike, and as a good felowe in company was beloued of many, a doctour of diuinitie he was, but neuer like to haue proued to be either martyre or confessor in christes religion, and yet he began there to exercise raylinge (which amonge such, as newely professe christ, is a great pece of connynge, and a great forwardnes to reputacion speciallye if he rayle of Bysshops, as Barnes began, and to please suche of the lower sort, as enuieth euer auctoritie) cheflye againste my lorde Cardinall, then vnder the kinges maiesty, hauing the high administracion of the realme.

Luther excedeth in the feate of raylynge and Joye doth pretely for a scoler, the toyly hunter may cōpare with eyther.

It chaunced at the same tyme, a frende of Barnes, in Cambridge, to be sued for iuste debte, by his neighboure, whiche creditoure, for no intreatie that Barnes could make, wold leaue his sute, but haue his debte payed him, as the lawe wolde, wherat Barnes waxed angry, and began to preache of it, and as he warmed in the matter, spake so much the more violently, & to shew hym selfe stowte, playnly affirmed in the pulpet, that it was not lawful for one christen man, to sue an other, & that he wold stande by, & proue by saynt Paule. Of this preachynge complaynte was made to the vicechauncelour, and after the matter

Barnes beganne at the lewdest opinion of the Anabaptistes whereby to extinct the ordre of iustyce.

ter hard amonge the doctours, and somewhat spoken sharpely by one doctor Preston (whome Barnes coulde not beare) it was ordered, that Barnes should recant that false assertion, which is an article of the Anabaptistes, vpon refusall whereof by Barnes the matter was brought to my lorde Cardinalles knowledge, with accumulacion of such raylynges and iestinges as Barnes had made, agaynst myters and crosses, and all my lorde Cardinalles hauoure, so farre as in his sermons in place of carnall affections, he termed them cardinall affections, wherein he pleased some, at those dayes. At the tyme of this accusacion of Barnes: I was in seruice with my lorde Cardinall, of acquayntaūce with Barnes: and not accompted his enemy, and yet I thanke god, neuer fauoured such straunge opinions, as he and some other wantanlie began to set furth, but bycause there was not then in them malyce, and they maynteyned communication, hauynge some sauour of lernynge, I was familiar with such sort of men, and was then sory for Barnes, and glad to helpe him, so farre as myght stande with my dutie, to my lorde my mayster agaynst whome he rayled. And yet that raylynge, in a frere had ben easely pardonned, if Barnes had not fondely persisted in the Anabaptistes opinion, denienge sutes to be lawefull amonge christē men. And I laboured with Barnes secretely to bringe that out of his head, wherin he yelded to me, vpon the shewinge to hym, of a sayenge of

A wantonne lyghtnes so to iest at those dayes of one in so high auctoritie and without all fruite of edification.

Almost all that haue ben notable haue ben of my special acquayntaūce. I haue loued the men, and euer hated the noughtie opinion frō the begynnynge.

saynt Austen, expoundynge the scripture, where Barnes toke his erroz. So as afterwarde Barnes was content to abiure that opinion, with crosses, staues and myters, and all his testinge matter, & all this tyme toke me foz his frende, as I was in deede, his foly set apart, & had shewed hym as I thought, a frendly turne. when Barnes afterwarde had bzoken out of the keppynge of the freres besides stansed, & escaped out of the realme, the fyzst tydynge I hard of hym, was in a booke made by hym and pzynted, wherein he wzote, how doctoz Steuens (by whiche name I was then called) had deceyued hym, by shewinge him a place of saynt Austen and thereby had inueygled him, to leaue his opinion, foz I shewed him not (he said) the hole sayeng of saynt Austen but a peace of the beginnyng, and if I had redde it him thzoughly, the latter parte had made, foz confirmacion of his opinion. And this rewarde hadde I, foz the fyzst frendly dede I dyd hym, Sins which time, at his repayze into England, vnder saufe conduyte, not to be touched, foz such sute he made vpon pzetence, that he had matter to shewe wozthye to be knowen, I chaunced to meete with him at Hampton court, where in the pzesence of my lozd of Caunturbury, that nowe is, I layed that mysrepozt of me, to his charge, and there shewed him the boke, to se saynt Austins wozdes, whiche in the fyzste parte and also last parte, condemned his Anabaptistical opinion. Where vpõ Barnes fyl downe on his knees, and

My lorde Cardinall wold not suffre Barnes raylinge wit beat liberty.

Barnes boke remayneth in print whereby the truth hereof may appere.

Cranmer.

and asked me instantlye forgeuenes, with promysse to wryte a boke to the world, wherin to declare, that he had belyed me. Upon which reconciliation, I had Barnes home to my house that night and made him the best chere I could. And hitherto I trust no man can iudge, I should persecute Barnes, but Barnes me, bycause I suffred him not to be worthely burnt. But after he was reconciled I forgate that, and Barnes forgate also to purge me, and blame him selfe to the worlde of his lye against me. After this Barnes returned frelie into England, and lyued here triumphantlye, tyll by his owne pryde and arrogancye, he sought his owne confusion and persecuted hym selfe, wherein I was onely an occasion as a stumblynge stone, but otherwyse no doer, but a sufferer, as in the truth of the storye, shall appeare. In declaration wherof, thinke not amysse of me (Reader) for I meane onely the reformation of such as seduced by false prophetes, be wronge borne in hande, and haue fayned lyes tolde them, of suche as they take for maisters in lerninge, and other, noted to be their aduersaries. Among which aduersaries, I haue ben noted, as I haue not ben, ne am angry at it: but as I haue not mented, and therfore haue taken it for a lesson, what I should haue done, and ought to do, for elles I haue ben wonderfull negligent to deserue any such brute amonges men whose helpe I neuer yet searched to vphold the truth, nether by frendshyp, ne secrete cōmunication

The materiall poyntes of this story, be eytherpublique within memorie or haue suche witnesse as all men wyl, (I thinke) beleue, for they be indifferent/ and the truth of the matter shulde much declare me, and disproue such as rayle to the contearye.

I deserue no prayse herin but only by cause I tell truth.

I haue not kepte one scoler at Cambrydge or Oxforde syns I was bysshop to be brought vp in the catholique opinion, whiche is also myne. I haue not gone about to allure by any worldly entisemēt any man to it: but haue folowed therin thadmonitiō of the worde of scripture I write Vana salus hominis. As I haue ben called, in place, I haue vsed thopportunitie, & as I haue ben ꝓuoked, I haue written & spoken as I haue done to Bucer: and as I do nowe to you master Joye, but elles I am persuaded, that beinge the truth, a matter which god hath to hart, and vnder him the kinges maiestie, I may ẇ vntymely busynes in it, and out of my place, rather hinder then further. Accordinge to which determination, when I had preached, the fyrst fryday in the beginninge of Lent. Anno. M. D. xxxix. before the kynges maiesty vpon the wordes of the prophet, Clama ne cesses, and had cryed out somewhat, that Barnes and some other lyked not, where I was desyred by a lerned frende, to procure that I myght preach, that day all the Lent, to him I aūswered, that I was called sodenly to make ẏ sermon I had made, & spake therin that I thought to be spokē, but I wold not medle so farre as to auaūce my self further in ẏ matter to make my selfe a capitayne against thē, for myne opiniō was, that they shold not dissolue by pollicie against them, but by excesse of their own malyce worke their owne confusiō, some confirmacion, wherof incontinentlye folowed as I shall trulye

The sonday before in the court at dyner vpon cōplaynt of the Deane that he was vnprouided, the lorde great chamberlain named me whiche I coulde not refuse.

I take heresies in the church to be lyke byles in a mans body whiche [illegible] sone lauced ware sorer: and in tyme putrifie their matier, and hele of them self with a lytell clensynge playster of the chefe surgeon.

trulie tell, wherof I haue witnes lyuing, I minded some sonday of that lent, to preache at Paules crosse, as I had ben yeres before accustomed, and vpon the fyrst saturday in lente, goinge to Lambehith there to be occupied all that daye, I deuised with my chaplein that he should go that daye, and knowe who should occupie the crosse that lent, and to speake for a place for me on one of the sondayes, not meaninge the sondaye, that shoulde be on the morowe, for I had in my mind more reuerence to that audience, then without some conuenient premeditacion, to shewe my self there. Neuertheless my chapleine, repayring to knowe, howe the sondayes were appoynted, and vnderstandinge that Barnes shulde preach the fyrst sondaye (which was the morowe) thought in his mynde, rather to take that daye for me thē any other, specyally because he thought I wolde speake that was good, and Barnes shoulde be disapoynted to vtter that was nought. And so when I had doone my busynes at Lambehith (whiche ended not afore fyue of the clocke that saturday) my chaplein then wayting for me, told me he had ben so bolde ouer me, to appoynte me to preach the next daye at Poules crosse, adding howe he thoughte better to disapoynte Barnes on the morowe, then some other catholique man, appointed, on other sondayes. Wherupon I gathered my wittes to me, called for grace, and determined to declare the gospell of that sondaye, conteynynge the deuilles thre temptacions, the

A part of my sermon at Poulscrosse the fyrst sonday of lent. Ar. M. D. xxxix.

matter wherof semed to me very apte, to be applyed to the tyme, and good occasion, to note the abuse of scripture among some, as the deuyll abused it to chryst, which matter in dede, I touched somewhat playnly, and in my iudgement truly. And alludinge to the temptation of the deuyll to chryst, to cast him selfe downewarde, allegyng scripture, that he shulde take no hurte. I sayde now a dayes, the deuill tempteth the worlde, and byddeth them cast them selfe backeward. There is no forward in the newe teaching, but al backwarde. Now the deuill teacheth, come backe frō fastynge, come backe from prayng, come backe from confession, come backe from wepinge for thy synnes, and all is backewarde, in so moch as he must lerne to say his Pater noster backward, and where we sayd, forgiue vs our debtes, as we forgyue our debters, now it is, as thou forgiuest our debtes, so I wyll forgyue my debters, and so God must forgyue fyrst, and al I sayd is turned backewarde. And amonges other thinges noted the deuilles craft, what shift he vseth to deceyue mā whose felicitie he enuieth, & therfore coueteth to haue man idle, and voyde of good workes, & to be ledde in that idlenes, with a wanne hope, to lyue merely and at his pleasure here, and yet haue heauen at the last: And for that purpose, procured out pardons from Rome, wherin heauen was sold for a litle money, and for to retayle that marchaundise, the deuyll vsed frerers for his ministers: nowe they be gone with all their trom=

tromperye, but the deuyll is not yet gonne. And nowe he perceyueth it can no lenger be borne to bye and sell heauen (both the marchaundyse is abhorred, and the ministers also, we can not away with freres, ne can abyde the name) The deuyll hath excogitate, to offre heauen without workes for it, so frelye that men shall not nede for heauen to worke at al, what soeuer opportunite they haue to worke, mary if they wyll haue an higher place in heauen, God wyll leaue no worke vnrewarded, but as to be in heauen, nedes no workes at al, but onely beleke, onely, onely, nothinge els. And to set forth this the deuils craft, there were (I sayde) mynisters, but no mo fryers, fye on the name & the garment, but nowe they be called, by an Englyshe name, brethrene, & go apparelled like other men, amonges which be some of those that were freres, and serued the deuyll, in retaylinge of heauen in pardons, for they can skyll of the deuyls seruyce. But yf the kynges maiestie as he hath banyshed freres by the Frenche name, wolde also banyshe these that call them selfe brethren in Englyshe, the deuyll shulde be greatly discomforted in his enterprise, and idelnes therby banyshed, whiche the deuyll wyll elles perswade by mysunderstandinge of scriptures, as he did in thaduauncement of pardons. This my sermon was thought to some very plaine, and Barnes (as he confessed after, and as appeared by that he dyd) coulde not digest it, but was perswaded and comforted to handle me

somewhat rudely, whiche he dydde the sondaye fourtnyght after, in ỹ same place, where he toke to intreat the same text of the gospel, that I had declared, and lefte the scripture of the sonday he preched on, which had not ben sene, in that place before. There he beganne to call for me, to cõme forth to aunswer him, he termed me to be a fightynge cocke, and he was another, and one of the game, he sayde I had no spoores, & that he wold shewe. And after he had pleased him selfe in thallegorie of a cockefight, then vpon a foolysh conclusion, he cast me openly his gloue, and not cõtent therwith, he called me forthe by my name gardener, and opposed me in my grammer rules, and sayde: If I had aunswered him in the scoole, as I had there preached at the crosse, he wolde haue giuen me syxe stryppes, and raged after suche a sorte, as the lyke hath not ben herde doone in a pulpete (ordered to declare the worde of god in, and not to touche any perticuler man) as he rayled of me, by name, alludynge to my name gardener, what euell herbes I sette, in the garden of scripture, so farre beyonde the termes of honestie, as all men wondered at it, to here a Bysshop of the realme as I was, so reuiled, and by such one openly. So as my frendes enforced me to complayne vnto the kynges maiestie and for mayntenaunce of common order, not to passe it ouer vnspoken of. Wherevpon I complayned caringe more for the peruerse doctryne he wente about to establisshe in deprauing of me, then for any

Barnes preachinge at Paules crosse the thyrde sõday in lent An. M.D. xxxix.

This gloryc endured but tyl the friday after, by whiche tyme he hadde forgotten al: on the saturday chase his scolemaister: and the monday came to scoole lyke a good chylde.

any displeasure, could come vnto me by his rayſynge. Howe graciouſelye the kynges maieſtie herde the complaynte, and howe indifferentlye his maieſtie after his accuſtomed goodnes, ordered the examination of it, all good men myghte haue cause to reioyſe, and Barnes no cause of greef but cause of comforte, in the kynges maieſties mercye, yf he wolde haue erneſtly enbraced it. For what ſo euer folowed worthely by iuſtice, the kinges maieſty offred Barnes alinoch mercy, as euer did prynce any offendour, declarynge howe his highnes, was deſyrouſe of concorde in the truth, rather then the punyſſhement of any man that wolde from errour be reduced to the truth: And one notable thinge was done, in the hearinge of that matter, by the kynges maieſtie, when Barnes offered to yelde to his highnes in his opinion: the kynges grace ſyttinge ſecretely in his cloſet, and hauinge with him the late erle of Southampton (whoſe ſoule god pardon) the mayſter of the horſe that nowe is, We, Barnes, mayſter doctour Cockes, and doctour Robinſō. The kinges hyghnes, at that offre of Barnes, ſayd, I am (q̄ his maieſtie) a mortall man, and therwith ryſynge, & turninge to the ſacrament, and puttinge of his bonet ſayde: Yonder is the maiſter of vs al, authour of truth, yelde in truth to hym, and I ſhall (ſayeth the kinges maieſtie) defende that truthe. And otherwyſe Barnes (q̄ the kinges maieſtie) yelde not to me. Much more there was notably ſpoken by the kynges hygh-

If Barnes had not extremely abuſed the kynges maieſties goodnes for a little vaine glory among ſuch as magnified hym for their owne purpoſe, he had eſcaped all punyſhement.

A behauiour and ſpeache of the kinges maieſtie, ſecretly done, worthye, an open knowledge and eternall memorye.

nes, to rekourme Barnes koly, in his maner, and also lernynge, whiche I touche not because I shulde rather empayre and diminishe that was in dede sayde, then tell it fullye. But to the purpose, I tell this storye for, I desired the kynges maiestie, that Barnes and I myght commen together of the matter, oute of his hyghnes presence, in the hearynge of certayne, to be appoynted by his highnes as indifferēt to make report of oure disputions, and then Barnes shoulde haue no cause to excuse him selfe yf he could not conuince me, as he dyd in the pulpete, onely touchynge the trueth of hys doctryne dispouynge myne. For as for his rebukes, I clearlye remytted and forgaue them, and wolde commen as quyetlye wyth hym as yf he hadde vsed no suche language of me, whiche my petition, the kynges maiestye graunted, and appoynted mayster doctour Cockes, and mayster doctour Robynson with two other to be indifferēt hearers bytwene Barnes and me, and onelye to heare vs talke togyther, and make reporte to his hyghnes.

Wherevpon that nyght (which was the fryday, after Barnes had preached so outragiouslye of me) Barnes, I, and the hearers were aparte, where none other might heare vs. And for entry of disputation, betwene Barnes and me, I told hym I began with forgyuing all was past, that myght touche me, I beganne in frendshyp with him, onely intendinge to trye the truthe of the doctrine in controuersie betwene hym and me,

and

and therein I offered hym choyse, whether he wolde haue me aunswere hym, or he to aunswer me. He chase to aunswere me, wherevpon I prepared my self to fashion certayne argumētes to hym of the scriptures, and to my fyrst argument he coulde make no aunswere, I made him an other, & thereunto he could say nothing, but the desyred me that I wolde spare him for aunswer to them, that nighte, and we shulde come togyther agayne erely the nexte morninge, and so go through, I tolde hym I was content, and yet if I shulde striue with hym for glorye, after a childysshe fashion and lyke a grammariane, suche one as he fashioned me in the pulpete, all the tyme he studied for his aunswer I shuld decline Ntō conuictus, gtō conuicti &c. but that were boyeshnesse in dede. And therefore he shoulde haue all the night to study on, to make aunswer with all my harte, and I wolde also do so moche for hym, as to tell hym a thyrde of myne argumentes, and badde hym thynke vpon that agaynste the morrynge also, and so departed for that nyghte. In the morrynge, we assembled be tymes, accordynge to the appoyntemente.

At whyche tyme Barnes wente aboute to assoyle myne argumentes, I replyed to hys solutyons, and so spente two houres verye quyetlye and pacyentlye. And sodaynelye, beyonde all oure expectations when it was Barnes parte to haue spoken, he fell on bothe his knees, and desyred me to haue pytye vpon hym

I reherse this not for my praise, but to declare Barnes vnlerned arrogantie.

Maystee doctor cocks and maystee doctor Robynson were present and knowe this to be true.

good

I darste neuer write forth this and I had not the forsaide witnes yet liuinge.

good Bysshoppe and spake so many wordes to my glory and in prayse of my lerning, as I was ashamed to heare them, and dare not for vaine glory reherse now. And I dyd no more acknowledge his prayse there, to gyue to me that I had not, then his dispraise in the pulpet to take from me that I hadde, for I hadde neyther more or lesse for eyther of both, but such was Barnes hauour then, so farre discrepante from that in the pulpet, and therefore I tell this matter. In that submissiō Barnes graunted him self ouercome, and desyred he myght be my scoler, to be instructed of me, and required all them presente to be meanes to the kinges highnes that I myght so take hym, and desyred me to forget all, and he trusted yf he were with me, his wytte shulde not myslyke me. This chaunge in Barnes was so farre from that I loked for, that I vsed it in an other extremitie, I toke him vp from knelinge, I remembred olde familier knowledge, assured hym of me, I refused to be his scolemayster, but beinge as I perceaued, he was mynded to fall from errour, I wolde communicate vnto hym some honest portion of my lyuynge, and named xl.li. a yeare, and he to lyue felowelyke with me in my house. And this I reherse because it was tolde abrode afterward, how I offered him. xl.li a yere to leaue his opinō/but he wold not. But to Barnes agayne, he wolde nedes be my scoler for ought I coulde do, and sayde God had gyuen a gyfte to me, wherewith to do muche good,

It is harde medelynge with suche maner of mē. yf a man procure theyr punishmente as they deserue, there foloweth diffamacion of crueltie. yf a man wolddo them good it is sclaundered as corruption or flattery.

and

and then goynge a parte with me from the reſt, began familierlye to deuyſe which ſcolefelowes it were expediente to haue to ſcoole with hym, & there deuiſed me a great meany of ſcolers beſydes hym ſelfe, who reſourmed, all ſhuld be wel (he ſayd) and in ſpeaking of ſcolers, tolde me many thynges that I knewe not before, but I concluded with him, that he myght bringe one to ſcoole with him and he wolde, but I wolde no moo at ones. Wherevpon the kynges highnes aduertiſed of the concluſiō of ỹ matter betwene Barnes and me, was cōtent that Barnes ſhuld repayre to my houſe at London the monday folowinge, whiche he dyd with a ſcolefelowe with him, neither Jerarde, nor Jherome, but an other yet a liue. And at that time, in teaching Barnes, I vttered ſuch articles as ye maiſter Joye haue putte forth in printe, but not all togyther ſo, as ye reherſe them, for they haue a marke that they haue paſſed your handes, that is to ſay, be a lyttle corrupte & falſified, as I ſhewe afterwardes. When mayſter Barnes had gone to ſcoole two dayes, he wared wery of that humilitye, & came the thyrde day, & ſignified to me, that yf I wolde take him as one that came to conferre, he wolde come ſtyll, but els he wold no more come. I perceyued from whenſe the chaunge came, and told hym, ſeinge he had ones yelded him ſelfe to me as a ſcoler, I wolde ſo vſe him, tyll I ſawe hym better lerned, able to be my felowe, which he had not yet attayned ſyns ſatterday, at which tyme

I wryte not all he tolde me, for I will publyſche no more then I can proue.

Wm Jerom Vicar of Stepney, Tho: Garret, Parſon in London, both burnd with Barnes 1539.

Suche men as mayſter Joye is, corrupt all they meddel with.

Suche is the conſtancy of men of that ſorte.

he made the ſubmiſſion. Herebpon they began to ſpꝛead abꝛode an enuious rumour of me, that I wold be ſcoolemaiſter to all the realme, and many good moꝛowes, and ſo was I rydde of my wayward ſcoler, and neuer medled with hym after. Barnes in dede troubled me yet ones agayn at my beyng at ſaynt Mary ſpittel by commaũdement, and ſitting there by the Mayer to heare hym pꝛeache, and recante in wꝛitinge, to the conceyuinge wherof I was not pꝛyuie. But when Barnes right ſolemplie and foꝛmally had made his recantacion in the foꝛmour part of his ſermon, at thende of that: he cryed out to me, and aſked me foꝛgiuenes with a maruelous circumſtance, as though the woꝛld ſhuld thinke, I had had nede of ſuche a publique obteſtacion, and nedes I muſte holde bp my hande in token of a graunt, and where I ꝛencõbꝛed with ſhamefaſtnes, dyd not by and by as he required, he called foꝛ it agayne, and bad me hold bp my hand. So it lyked hym with a courage to playe with me, and to blynd the other ſubmiſſion done ſecretly, as though it had ben of none other ſoꝛte, and therwith to boſte his owne charitie, and bꝛinge myne in doubt. And when he had in the pulpete plaied theſe two partes, to recant his opinion as he was appoynted: and aſke me foꝛgiueneſſe which he did of wantonnes, then after the pꝛayer he begynneth a pꝛoces of a matter, and playnlye and directlye pꝛeacheth the contrarye, of that he had recanted, ſo euidentlye, as the Mayour of hym

At the ſolẽne eaſter ſermõ. An. M.D.xl.

After Barnes had gyuen bp my ſcoole he renounced his opinion to the kynges maieſtye and promyſed to recant, not at my ſute, perſecution, oꝛ pꝛoſecution.

Barnes was not appoynted thus to do, noꝛ it was not nedefull, foꝛ I was in no auctoꝛitie, wherefoꝛe to fere me, noꝛ I medled not further with hym, and had foꝛgiuen him befoꝛe.

There is no thinge moꝛe true thẽ this: ne moꝛe dete-

hym ſelf, aſked whither he ſhould from the pul=pete ſend him to warde, to be fourth commynge to aunſwer for his contemptuouſe behauiour, to preache in the ſame place, to the ſame people, the contrarye to his recantacion. But Barnes was not ſtayed, ne ſpoken to, whiles Jherome & Jherard hadde both preached and folowed the ſame trade. The kinges maieſtie had appointed certayne to make repoꝛte of the ſermons, befoꝛe which repoꝛt, one that fauoꝛed them, had wꝛitten to his frende at the courte, howe gayly they had all handled the matter, both to ſatiſfie the recan=tacion and alſo in the ſame ſermons to vtter out the truth, that it myght ſpꝛede without let of the woꝛlde, and this letter by negligence came to light, wherupon, and repoꝛt of the ſermons, they were al appꝛehended, and by the ſecret counſayle (to whiche company J had then none acceſſe, ne had not almoſt a yeare befoꝛe, ne had not after, ſo longe as Crumwels tyme laſted) ſent to the towꝛe, and therevpon enſued further pꝛoces, by the hole realme, whereunto J was pꝛiuie, but a=monge the reſt. And otherwyſe then J haue re=herſed, J haue not perſecuted Barnes, and as J haue tolde the ſtoꝛye, ſo it was done. And thinke me not (god reader) ſo moche a beaſt, that al ſuch beinge yet aliue, in whoſe pꝛeſence & knowledge theſe matters haue paſſed betwene Barnes and me. J wolde vaynlye fayne in ſuch a tale, where=in J accompte not mine eſtimation to haue ouer come Barnes, foꝛ he was not lerned, and ſhulde

C. ii, much

Stable in a ſubiect, ſo o=penly to de=lude his pꝛince & ſouerayne loꝛde, beſides the iniury to the truth.

This negli=gence was notable in the late loꝛde Crumwell, who not markynge thꝛoughlye what was wꝛitten in them, cauſed him ſelf theſe letters to be redde to o=ther, and ſo called Bar=nes and his felowes knaues.

When Bar=nes was ſent to the towꝛe J was not of the pꝛiuye counſayle.

much hyndre myne estimation, if any man could in that I haue tolde, reproue me of a lye. For so moche the tale may be profitable to the (reader) to considre howe thinges be blowed and blustered abrode with lyes, and how Barnes death is layde to my charge, that haue onely suffred at Barnes hand, and neuer dyd any thing to him, but euer forgaue him, and he euer vsed forgeuenes, neuer to amende, but to delude and tryfle. And if any wolde note my blyndenes in vayne glorye, that because Barnes yelded to be my scoler of policie (as Dauyd fayned him self mad before Achis) I colde not espie it, but take it in earnest. I wold to such say, that if Barnes coũterfaited in that submission, he deceiued moo aswel as me, and in dede, a man in his owne praise may soone be made a foole. And one of that cõpany tolde me (whom I take for my frende) that he had not thought to heare so muche diuinitie of me, ne se so moche charitie in a Bysshop. How this matter shalbe taken, I remitte to the indifferencie of the reader, I ment good fayth with Barnes and symply, and further medled not wh hym then I haue rehersed, wherein appeareth on my behalf no malice, and there appeareth also vpon what occasion I haue vttered such articles as Joye wyll now confute for false, which howe substancially he doth, by comparynge his and myne togyther, I shall entreate hereafter. He begynneth his booke thus.

The numbre of thre signifieth infinite, and so often did I forgiue Barnes: and therefore am called his persecutour and was as Dauyd dyd persecute Saul.

Thus the holy exãples of scripture be applied to couer lewde mens fautes, when they ly in examinacion, that is as Abraham denyed Sara, yf they counterfet, that is as Dauyd dyd before Achis. Exemplum placet.

I chaunced

Wm: Cole Coll: Regal: Cantab: A: M: & Eccl: Anglic: Diac: 1745

I Chaunced vpon certeyne articles, entituled to the Bysshop of Winchester, called Steuen Gardener, which were wrytten agaynst doctour Barnes and his two felowes, brent. M. D. xxxix. for preachynge onelye fayth to iustifie.

Ioy.

In this rekenynge Joy hath ouershot him self.

Vvintoñ

YOur entrie to ẏ mater, is fyt for your processe. For neyther did I euer write such articles: ne Barnes was burnt for preachingonly faith iustifieth. I was by Barnes choyce (as is afore sayde) his scolemayster, at whiche tyme we entreated tharticle of onely fayth iustifieth, as shall hereafter appeare.

Ioy.

By these his articles, Wynchester wolde proue that workes must iustifie, that is to say, with our workes we must merite the remissiõ of our siñes, which doctrine, as it is cõtrary to gods word: so is it iniuriouse to Christes bloud, whose godly name is one alone, for all sufficient, euen that same precyous hyd treasour in the gospell: in whome (sayth Paule) are all the treasours of wysdome and knowledge hidden, for in him dwelleth the most perfytte fulnesse, of god verely, and in him are we complete euen perfitly iustified wout any inweyuing of Winchesters workes. This thinge do I tell you (sayth Paule) least any man (as nowe wolde Wynchester) deceyue you with his apparaunt popysshe persuasions. This full iustification by onlye fayth Paule expresseth clerelye in these wordes also. This our euerlastyng lyuyng priest, & intercessor christ abideth for euer vnto this ende, euen absolutly, fully and perfitly without any lacke or breth to saue al them, that through hym by fayth come to god the father. Here are we taught Christ to haue an euerlastinge preesthode to saue perfitlye, and sufficientlye through our fayth onely, & that he euer lyueth vnto the same ende, wherefore for the defence of our so plẽtuouse and perfit redemption, and for the ryche fauoure and mercye of our heuenlye father, and free forgyuenes, in christes passion through our fayth onlye, and that the

glorye

glorye of his grace, whereby he hath made vs his dearly beloued chosen children, throughe his beloued sonne, whould be prayed, by whom we haue redēption through his blood, euen the remyssion of synnes, accordynge to the ryches of his so plentuouse grace, vnable to be mynyshed. To defend this my lorde gods glorye (I say) & to warne the symple vnlerned that they be not decepued by such blasphemouse Bysshops articles, I shal by gods help, iustlye by his worde, clerely confute thē, although he yet teache and preache them, into his owne damnation, and decepuinge of as many as beleue hym.

Vvinton It is of lyke truth, that ye affirme of me, that I wold by these articles proue, that workes muste iustifie. I neuer went about to proue that: Howe so euer it lyketh you to reporte of me. I neuer wrote so, I neuer preached so, I neuer affyrmed so, ne enterprised to teache Barnes so, [redacted] the time he was my scooler. As for you (that is to say, w our workes we must meryte the remission of our synnes) I wold not be a ferde to vse that speach, yf you and other had not to the worlde diffamed and sclaūdered the word (merite) but nowe seing ye haue beaten it into ỹ eares of your hearers and readers, that meryte is asmuche to saye, as worthely, fully, and holly to deserue, none otherwyse then a workeman descrueth his wages, for his labour and trauayle, (the worlde by youre preaching takyng the word in that sence) it were in deade an occasion of offence and sclaunder to such sorte of men, & in the fyrst apparaunce, conteyned blasphemye agaynst the passion of christ, which in the syght of God, is onely sufficient sacrifice for the synne of all the worlde, so full and perfit

perfyt, as it nedeth not any addicion or supplement of any mans deserte to the appeasynge of goddes iust wrath agaynst man for synne. And therefore ye shall not nede to speake of halfe sauiours, or pached sauiours, or elles bryng in your allegations to proue christ a only redemer. It is the fyrst letter of our crosse rowe. It is the foundatiō of our faith. Only christ is our mediatour. Christes only passion is our redemption, iustice, and satisfaction. And when Barnes went to scoole with me (as his scoolefelow can report) this artycle was fyrste, without any varyaunce agreed on, with such explicatiō as scriptures do testifie, that only Christ is our hope, only christ is our life, only christ is our way, only christ our sauiour, holly, throughly, perfitly, absolutely, totally, entierly, fully, & herein no tōgue can expresse so much as the matter truly cōteyneth, ne there was euer any so mad as to bring this truth in question, whereby to shake the foūdacion of our faith, & to bringe in doubt that is so playne & euident, as ye wold beare the people in hande men dyd, when lerned men, impugne your frantyque vnderstandynge of this truth. The contēcion is not of the precioulnes, validitie and effecte of christes passion, but of the vse of it. And where your doctrine should onlye implye that it is sufficient, to thynke and talke of christes passion, we say it is also necessarie to some, to taste & fele of christes passion, and also to drynke of it, as Christ sayde. Potestis bibere calicem, quem ego

His scoolefelowe is yet alyue and cā tell I saye truth.

ego bibiturus sum? Can ye drynke the cup that I shall drynke? And we with the grace of god doynge the workes of penaunce, taste and feele the passion of christ, and as good men haue called it merityng and deseruinge, to vse the benefites of christes passion, and by strength thereof to do penaunce for synne, which hath ben called likewyse satisfaction, as wherein man satisfieth (that is to say) cõtenteth God, who sayth: he willeth not the death of a synner, but that he should turne to hym and lyue. And in this speach, merityng and deserynge, signifieth the due vsing of the benefite offred, after which sorte we saye also: He is worthy loue and fauour, that wil seke for it, and do his dutie to attayne it. And in this wyse the hole church prayeth. Omnipotens sempiterne deus da nobis fidei, spei, et charitatis augmentum, et ut mereamur assequi quod promittis, fac nos amare quod precipis. And in this sence we speake of the merites of our Ladye and other sayntes who vsed the benefites of God, to his pleasure and honour. And albeit the wordes haue longe continued in this sence, and in al tonges, yet such as you be, haue maliciously impugned them, and caused them to sounde, as though there were ment derogation to the benefite of christes passion by them, where in deade they doo sette fourth therecellencie of the same, as by vertue of whiche passion, men in state of grace, purchased by christes mediacion, doo the workes of iustice, and synners be called to grace

Merite.
Deserynge.

to do

to do the wozkes of penaũce, wherby to recouer the kauour of god, with remiſſion and kozgeue=nes of their ſynne. You wyll percaſe, fynd mat=ter of raylynge, that I bzynge in the wozdes of the common pzayer of the churche, koz to ſhewe the vſe of the ſpeche, in the wozd (merite) and cal it papiſticall ſcripture. But I dydde it not koz want, but vpõ that occaſiõ, to touche the mater. And now I adde this gathered out of ſcripture, that lyke as in other actiõs oz qualities beinge in God eſſentiall, we be called by participacion, by the names attributed to god, & koz ſo muche as we do participate, haue alſo ỹ thing in dede. And therefoze as god is goodnes it ſelfe, we by participatiõ from him, be good. As god is light it ſelfe, we by participation from hym, be lyght: As god is wiſdome it ſelfe, we by participation from him, be wyſe. So as chzyſt merited and de=ſerued thzoughly: we by perticipacion in vſing his giftes, merite and deſerue. And as chzyſt ſa=tiſfied fullye, ſo by participation we alſo ſatiſfy. And as our goodnes, lyght, and wyſedome by participation, is no addition, oz derogacion to goddes goodnes, lyghte, oz wiſedom, in eſſence oz being, no moze is our merytynge, deſeruyng, oz ſatiſfaction: a derogation oz ſupplement to ỹ merites of chzyſtes paſſion, but onelye a due v=ſinge of them, by the gifte of his grace. Nowe how this participacion is wzought, and by god=des goodnes deriued to man: herein the wozlde is troubled, but the ſpeache with this ſence hath

no absurdite, and out of this sence it hath not ben spoken in the common prayer of the church. But I dyd neuer vtter this proposicion, in these termes, to saye: that man must merite remyssion of synne, nor I haue not (as I remēbre) redde it spoken in this fourme, tyll you haue so termed it, onlye to make matter to talke of, by occasion wherof, ye tel a lōge tale of heresies as foloweth.

loy. In Paules tyme there strayed about, a certayne vile sort and secte of heretickes, called Nazares or Minei, the most subtyll kynde of men, in payntyng and persuadynge their false doctrine. These heretiques troubled & peruerted the churches, well instituted of the apostels, especially the Galathiens, Antiochens, and Romaines, agaynst whose heresies Paule dyd write so myghtelye and ernestly, confuting them. These pharisees laboured in the same heresie, in which Winchester now teacheth and writeth myxing thobseruaūce of the lawe, with the grace of the gospell, euen workes with fayth to iustify. These Nazares confessed christ to be god and man, that he died rose agayne. &c. but vnto hym onelye, throughe our fayth, they attributed not all our hole iustification, but parte thereof (as nowe dothe Wynchester) to the workes of the lawe, as vnto our owne merites and part to his passion, makynge Christ a sauiour to halues. But is Christ deuided (sayth Paule)? These heretiques descended out of the faction of the pharisees, as nowe do oure Iusticiaries, out of the Pelagians, whose ryghtwysenesse (sayeth Christe) excepte ours excelle more aboundauntlye, we shall neuer come to heauen. These Nazaries were Jues borne, but in name they wolde be called Christyans, and yet nothynge holdynge the benefyte of grace by Christe, confoundynge the lawe with the gospel, meryttes myxt with grace, free forgiuenes, wt deseruynge by workes contendinge no man to be saued by christ, except he beynge circumcised kepte the lawe of Moyses, agaynst whom Paule with so greate labour, farre otherwise instituted his churches, preachinge

ching & writing cõstantly, our synnes to be knowen and shewed vs by the law, and not thereby to be taken away onelye the grace of fayth through Christe to iustifye all nations. Happye it was that these heretiques spronge vp in his dayes, whose epistels we haue yet so myghtlye and clearely confutynge and prestynge downe these hereslies, nowe crepte vp agayne by Wynchester. The chief articles of the christen religion, vpon the whiche all other are stayed and grounded, is that in Christ Jesu is all sufficiencie and perfection of forgyuenesse of sinnes, and saluacion, of whose fulnes we receyue grace for grace, as sayeth Jhoñ. Wherefore as many as be iustified, are iustified by thonely fayth in hym, and by nothynge els, as by any subsidiary, attenument (as Wynchester wolde haue his helpyng wylworkes) vnto his full iustificacion in Christe the perfection of the lawe.

This is the summe of the hole Gospell. This is the station of the cause, the argumente and materiall of all Paules pistels, euen the tredsole or groundsole whereupon, as the doore is turned and returned, so are all his argumentes and proces, therupon treated and retreated. And specially in his pistels to ℣ Romaynes, Galath. & Hebrues. And nowe syth this Bysshop sterith vp afresh these olde hereslies, we can haue no better armoure and argumentes, then Paule made agaynst hym, fyrste warnynge vs of such sedicious secte sowers, sayeng. There are many runners abrode, of whom I warned you oftē, but nowe with weppynge teares I warne you agayne, euen of the ennemyes of christes crosse, whose ende is dampnation, whose belye is their god, and their glorye shall ende with shame, whose care and study is set vpon earthlye thynges. I can not maruayle ynoughe at this Bysshop, fyghtynge so earnestly for good workes to iustifie, that he doth none him selfe, but persecuteth Christes church so cruelly, prysonn pitiously, and destroy the poore innocent lambes of God, christes owne blode, I passe ouer his luciferin pryde, ambition, arrogancye, viciouse lyuyng &c. aboue Nero, Julian, Traiane, Herod, or any softe Sardanapale. By lyke he beleueth not his own articles: for if he dyd, he wold do better workes for his owne iustification. The frutes of Paules faith, beynge ones a Pharisaie, of Wynch. oppnion, were the p-

secution of Christes churche, aboue measure, as hym self testifieth. And as all lyke pharisees haue euer done and do yet styll vntyll this daye. God conuerte them once, as he dyd Paule. So be it. We therefore with Paule and Christ affyrme our onely one alone sauioure Christe, for his owne merites and oure fayth into hym through the fauour of his father appeased in him to iustifye (that is) to absolue vs, from our synnes & to gyue vs lyfe eternall. This our onely sauiour, we preach and write, to be the only rightwysnes, wisdome, holy maker redemption and satisfaction sufficient for al that beleue in hym. And if there be any that thinke Christes rightwysenes his satisfaction, his merites, and redemption, made for vs, of his father not a sufficient iustification & forgyuenes of theyr synnes, but that they muste sette their owne workes, checkmate with hys passyon and redemption, to helpe fourth vnto the attaynmente of this effect of Christes passion, (well) let them cople and wrappe in their owne workes to, for their iustification, and then in so doynge, shall they procure theyr owne dampnation. For all our good workes or rightwysenes (fayth I saye) are ryghte fylthye and noughte, and so muche the worse then nought, for that they be set in so high a place, egal with christes bloud, which is a plaine blasphemye. These vnryght ryghtwyse makers wolde serue two cõtrary masters at once, the pope and god to, the gospell and the popes lawes, but whyles they thus haulte on bothe sydes with Baals preestes, they serue truly the deuyll, which hath no concorde with Christ, neyther shal there any pappyst nor christian beleue them. for in conclusion ye shall see them to be iustified, neyther by workes nor fayth, but dampned for theyr vnbeleefe, no man beleuyng nor louyng them by theyr wicked workes procurynge them self the hatred of all men.

Vvinton without I wold encountre with you in raylynge I haue nothynge to saye hereunto, but that ye spend a great incany of wordes in vayne whiche shall more playnlye appeare, by then ye come to thende of myne answere, and that your

pꝛopꝛe termes of ſubſidiarye atteynement, wyll-
woꝛkes, and woꝛkes checkemate, with ſuche de-
uiſes of new woꝛdes (which ſaynt Paule noteth,
as a marke to tel what ye be) be al to no purpoſe.
And beſydes the iſſue of the matter in hande, ye
diſpꝛoue troublers of the churche with cuyl opi-
nions, as though ye were none of thē that trou-
bled it, ye crye ſtowe the theke, to hyde your ſelke
with the noyſe, and therebye eſcape thattache-
mente of the folowers. I foꝛ my ſelke, booſt not
my woꝛkes to the woꝛlde, but do the offyce of an
hande, at a croſſe, to ſaye this is the ryght waye,
and whether I ſtere oꝛ no, to enter the waye my
ſelke, I haue god to my iudge, to whom I ſtand
oꝛ fall, and ye take vpon you to iudge an other
mans ſeruaunt, I ſtyꝛre vp no hereſies, but as
ye pꝛouoke me ſay my conſcience to the diſpꝛoue
of ſuche blaſphemouſe hereſyes, as ye ſtyꝛre vp.
Wherein youre aſſeueracyons and myne ſette
aparte, lette the matter ſhewe it ſelke. The
ſcryptures ye haue bꝛoughte in agaynſte me,
reade them once agayne, and marke them foꝛ
youre owne parte, to whome mooſte pꝛoperlye
appertayneth (to be called the runners aboute:
to me, that ſpeake to no man of the matter, but
as I am pꝛouoked, oꝛ you that in your wꝛytyn-
ges wander abꝛode and be in euery mans eares,
and where ye dare appeare, ſhewe youre ſelke,
and ſpeciallye at Antwerpe, to coꝛrupte the
youth, from whenſe one came of late, to ſerche
pꝛoukes, agaynſt your perſonne, to dyſpꝛoue the
falſe

Deuiſers of newe termes be noted by ſaynt Paule foꝛ men of diſſencion in religion.

falſe witnes (as he ſayd) ye had borne with your tonge, whether he belyed you or no, I wyll not affyrme, for albeit ye gyue me cauſe to doubte of youre truth throughlie, yet I wyl not condemne you, in that I knowe not, as ye do me. But let vs ſe what foloweth in your booke. ye entre into myne arcles thus. Nowe to his articles.

Vvynch. fyrſt article. The effect of chriſtes paſſion hath a condicion. The fulfyllynge of the condition diminiſheth nothynge the effect of Chriſtes paſſion.

loy. God is the light, and wyl not be taught with darke & confuſe termes. Iſai prophecied of chriſt that when he ſhoulde come, he ſhoulde not be darke and dyſcycple or harde in his doctrine. Nowe ſpeakeſt thou playnelye (ſayde his dyſcyples). And Paule reioyced greatlye that he hadde ſo ſincerelye and freelye preached the goſpell: Chryſt toulde his that they ſhoulde be the lyght of the worlde purely and clerely to teache, eſpeciallie the chief principalles of the chriſten teligion of whiche the pſalme hath: Manifeſt & cleare are thy wordes (oh lord) they illumine and gyue vnderſtanding to the lytle ones. But and yf goddes word appeare into vs hard & darke, our owne ſluggiſhnes, negligence, & ignauy is the cauſe thereof: If it be darke, it is darke to them that hate the lyght: If it be vnſauerie it is ſo to them that lyſt not to taſt therof. It is hard rydles to them which are ſo wiſe in theyr owne conceytes that they diſdeyne to lerne of any man, as it was to the ſeers, herers, & vnderſtanders which harde Chriſt and vnderſtode hym not, ſo blynde at none daies (the goſpell now clerely cõmen) that they ſtagger, & reele in the clere lyght, lyke drunckē crownes of proude Ephram and Moab. By lyke Wincheſter is a ſhamed of the playne ſimple wordes of chriſtes goſpell, as of theſe wonte and common wordes forgyuenes of ſynnes, fayth & workes, but goeth about to couer them with his condicions, effectes, fulfyllynges and confuſe knowledges. The ſcriptures knowe none other effecte and

and condicion, but remyssion of synnes vpon this condicion that we beleue christ to haue died for them and to haue risen agayne for our iustification. Thou shalte call his name Iesus (sayde the aungell to Marye) for he shall saue his people from their synnes. Math. 1. Therfore was Christe lyfted vpon the crosse, that as manye as beleue in hym shulde be saued. Euerye man maye se that Wynchester, entendeth some iuglinge caste with his confuse condicion, whiche he dare not expresse, callynge it workes speakynge playnlye. The effecte of Christes passion, hath workes whose fulfyllynge. &c.

Vvinton

We reherce here two propositions, or speches which ye call myne article. The fyrst proposition is. The effecte of Christes passion hath a condition.

When I trauailed to instruct doctour Barnes, I declared this proposition vnto him neyther darkelye nor confuselye. And whye ye shuld cal it so, I se not, for both the matter is certayne, and the wordes commonly vsed and vnderstanded. The effecte of Christes passion, is the worke therin intended (that is to say) to reconcyle man to god and bryng him to saluacion, wherin, I asked Barnes, whether he toke ỹ effecte of christes passion to be absolute to man, or with a condicion on mannes behalfe. If it be absolute and without condicion, then shal all men be reconciled and saued: For seinge Christe dyed for all: if nothinge elles were required on mans behalfe, it shoulde extende to all men, and then shuld no man be dampned, but all saued at the last, as the Origenistes sayed. Herevnto Barnes fyrst aunswered, as ye saye nowe, that he knewe no condition, but yf a man beleued. I asked hym then:

whether

whether he wolde graunte there was that one condicion? He sayd yea, he wold graunt that, for elles he must haue agreed to an inconuenience, that all men shall be saued, whether they beleued or no. And herevpon the fyrste proposicion that ye nowe call darke, was agreed vnto, that theffecte of christes passion had a condicion. I asked Barnes then, whether the fulfilling of the condicion, dyd dymynisshe the glory of Christes passion? that is to saye: whether the passion of Christ were more gloriouse to redeme man, whither he beleued or no? and so doynge nothynge? or els when man by gods gyft wrought ẏ worke of belefe inẏ same? wherunto he said that mans belefe dyd nothyng diminishe ẏ glory of christes passion. And because he had before graunted, that belefe was a condiciō, which decerned them that shall enioye the fruite of Christes passion, and them that shall not: thus we termed that proposicion, that the fulfillyng of the condicion, required in man: dyd nothynge diminisshe the glorye of Christes passion. And thus farre we agreed. I only dissentinge from hym, that where he sayd, he knew but one condiciō, that is to say, beleuyng, as you do nowe. I sayde because he came to me as a scoler, I wold lerne him mo cōdicions required in man, and amonge manye other, told hym of this, wherein he had in his opē sermon inueyed agaynste me. To forgyue his neyghbour or els he shuld not be forgyuen. And concluded vpon that he had graūted before that

the

the fulfilling of this condicion was not the diminutiō of the glory of Christes passion. And so lykewise of any other cōdicion requyred in scripture of man, either in his incorporatiō into christ by baptisme, or returnynge to christ by penaūce, with perseueraunce in vertue, for the atcheuyng of eternall lyfe. And after this sort we discussed this matter in earnest with suche respecte to the honour of the passyon of Christ, as we estemed it most abhominable sacrilege, to diminysshe any parte of the frute and effecte thereof. But it foloweth in your booke. But play on yet a gods name Wynchester.

Vvynch. seconde article.

They that wyll enioye the effecte of Christes passion must fulfyll the condicion.

Ioy.

Yet wyll ye not expresse your condicion? well, then wyll I expresse it for you. For I knowe your mynde is to proue workes to iustyfye. This is Winche. article. They that wyll enioy the forgyuenesse of synnes, must do good workes. And so he entendeth as ye shall se anon after this wise deduction, to conclude his folyssh cōclusiō, yet play on Winchester a gods name aboue ẏ borde.

Vvintoñ

This truth troubled Barnes, as it troubleth you, bycause it is so playne and so true, that they that wyll enioye the effecte of Christes passyon, must fulfyll the condicion, and Barnes espied whereto it tended, much better then you do, as it may appeare by that that foloweth. For that ye call the thyrde article, ye vnderstode it not, as I shall shewe in the place.

Yet Win. The fulfyllinge of the condicion, requireth fyrste knowledge of the condicion, which knowledge we haue by fayth.

seconde article.

loy. Ah good fayth, where haste thou ben all this while: hath this iugler kept the this longe in his bagge vnder the boorde? thou hast taryed all to longe, for Wynchester wyll be iustified by his condicion ere thou cõmest. Here might I aske Wynchester, whether workes (whiche are his condicion) be before fayth, or fayth before his workes? By his proceſſe, workes go before faith, and so muſt his workes be ſynne and diſpleaſure to God. For what ſo euer is not of fayth (ſayth Paule) is ſinne. And without fayth, it is impoſſible to pleaſe God. If fayth goeth before workes then muſt fayth only iuſtify, or els it is no fayth, as I ſhall nowe proue by Paule, whiche gyuynge to fayth her eſſentiall diffinition, ioyneth it immediatlye and eſſentially vnto thynges inuiſible aſſured vs by hope, ſayenge, fayth is a ſubſtanciall aſſured perſuaſiõ, of thinges hoped for, with a ſure hope and confidence, euen the certeynte of thinges inuiſible. God inuiſible ſo entierly ioyneth hym ſelfe to fayth, that in the faythfull he dwelleth, & they in hym. Fayth therefore alwayes inſeperably is ioyned to gods mercy, his grace, remiſſion of ſynnes, to ſaluacion, and lyfe eternall through Chriſt, which all are inuiſible thinges hoped for. But Wincheſter dreampynge vs forth, his newe fayned fayth, coupleth her to an erterne knowledge of what manner a viſible fulfyllyng I can not tel you, nor yet of what a fonde confuſe condicion, nor yet of hym ſelfe erpreſſed. Ioyne thou thy fayth to an outwarde viſible bodelye thynge, and ſo it is neither fayth nor hope. Bleſſed are they that beleue and ſe not. Nowe muſt Wynchester proue his condition, with the fulfyllynge and knowledge thereof, to be thinges inuiſible, hoped for as eternall lyfe. &c. or elles his fayth ſhal not be that fayth, whiche Paule diffineth, & Chriſt ſo often mencioneth in his goſpell.

Vvintoñ It may appeare in you euidently, howe malyce maketh you blynde, when reherſynge my wordes

wordes, yet ye aske me whither fayth goeth before workes? For when I saye as you reherse, that the fulfillinge of the condicion, requireth fyrst knowledge what the condicion is, and then that this knowledge is attayned by faith, do not I geue faith the fyrst place? as ỹ meane of knowledge what is the condicion, which must nedes go before the fulfyllynge, and the fulfyllyng before thatteyninge of the effect? In this place who is fyrst say you? by myne owne wordes, fayth or workes? And yet ye say by my proces, workes go before, whē my wordes rehersed hitherto declare the contrarie. But ye were so pleasaunt in scoffynge, that ye forgate the matter. And these be the frutes of the spirite that vexeth you. This is the mylde, meke, sobrenes of your profession of christiane charitie. I wyll aske you a question wakinge. Is not all our certeine knowledge of gods wyll and pleasure, by fayth? Some parte of your wordes semeth to saye yes, when ye call it the certeinte of thinges inuisible. And yet whē ye say that I dreame an externe knowledge of visible thinges with addicion of these two wordes (that is to say) externe and visible. Ye say, ye can not tell vs more of it. And it is a worlde, to se howe fondely ye talke, for fayth in no sence can signifie an externe knowledge which is onlye by the senses. And where did I talke in my dreame of visible thynges speakynge of god & his wyll, which be all inuisible, and in goddes wyll is cōteyned the condicion I speake of, whiche after

knowledge thereof, as I sayd, must be fulfylled, and without knowledge before, can not be fulfilled. As for your mangled argument, to confirme the proufe ye prompysse, shall be more commodiously entreated afterward. In this part I shew only, howe ye wrangle with me, and take vpon you to improue that ye vnderstand not, asby the rehersall of my nexte article shall appeare more playnlye. Ye rehersse it thus.

Vvinch. thyrde artycle.

This fayth cōmeth of God, this fayth is a good gift. It is good and profitable to me: It is profitable to me to do well and to exercise this fayth.

loy.

This fayth so farre of flytted from the inuisible, iustification whether it be the gyft of God, and profitable to Wynchester I doubte it, but this I am sure of, by christes owne wordes, that when Wincheſter hath done all that God commaunded hym (whiche I dare saye he shall neuer do) and so neuer fulfyll his condicion, yet is he but a seruaunt (if he be not a lorde) vnprofitable. I wold aske Wynchester when he loketh and considereth fyrst the effecte of christes passiō, whether he beleued it or no? If he dyd not beleue, so was he then an infidell. If he beleued it (seing it is the pmysed forgyuenes of synnes i Christes bloud) whether beleued he it to be effectuouse to him self, or only to other men? If to other, & not to hym self, so is his fayth and the deuyls fayth al one. If he beleued his owne synnes, to be forgyuen thereby, so was he iustified by fayth onlye, ere any other condition was knowen or spoken of, or elles he muste make Christe a lyer, which sayeth. As thou beleuest so come it to the. When Jairus desyred Christ, to come and helpe his doughter, and in Christes commynge Jairus his seruaunt mette hym sayenge: Desease not Christ our mayster no further, for your doughter is dead. What sayde Christ? Sayde he not to hym, feare not? Beleue only and she shall be safe. These same wordes (onely beleue) stand both

both in Marke and Luke. What condicion elles then fayth only in Christes promysse, can Wynchester fynde, to enioye the effecte of Christes passion? Christ (all condicions elles set aside) only fayth mencioned, sayde: Thy fayth hath saued the. What condicion elles then fayth dyd Christ require of the childes father, prayenge hym to cast the euyll spirite out of his sonne? Added he any thinge elles then fayth, sayenge: If thou canste beleue all thynges are possible to the beleuer. Away Winchester with your confuse comberouse condicion, fonde fulfillinges and your craftie knowledge, and abuse not the precious gift of fayth, to serue your synful affectes, to proue your blasphemouse cõclusiõ: But yet perchaũce Wynchester wyll aunswere to my former question, that when he beholdeth the forgiuenes of his sinnes, in christes passion, he seeth also therewith his condicion, well be it so. Then aske I hym, whether the forgyuenes of his synnes there beholden, and him selfe herynge christ callynge and cryenge. Come vnto me Wynchester, laden with synnes and I shall ease the, whether (I say) it is moore profitable for hym by fayth to set hold of the forgyuenes of his synnes, nowe offred hym by christ, that can not lye, or to tarye and sende hym worde, that he wil fyrst knowe and fulfyll his condicion? A wyse man wold thynke it most profitable, to set holde fyrst, by fayth vpon his iustification freely now offred hym, and to take the thynge certeyne and present, rather then so precious a gyfte neglected, to labour in an vncertayne condicion. For if his condicion be the workes of the law (as he wil not denye it) which it is impossible for any flesh to fulfyll, (as Paule affirmeth) and al our best workes are infected with Adams byrth poison, stayned lyke the syeke womans clothes, as I late sayth. And if Wynchester (I say) tary tyll he hath fulfylled his condicion, he shall come to short of his iustification in Christ. For ere he begynneth to fulfyll the condicion, he is disobediente to christes callinge and refuseth the forgiuenes of his sinnes, of whiche vnfaythfull disobedience, what so euer dede foloweth, it is synne, yea & that a greuouse synne, as Samuel exaggerateth it vnto kinge Saule, albeit he dyd it (as they say) of a good intent.

Vvyntoñ Hitherto I haue touched your blynd malice to improue my wordes only because they were myne. For they haue nothynge in them, but that myght be spoken of one that wolde maynteyne your owne opinion. Neyther Barnes, ne his scoolefelowe, dyd euer varye with me in thē. For they be principilles so true and euident, as they can haue no cōtradiction of him, that is not vnshamefast. And when I say, this fayth commeth of God, do I not make God auctoure of fayth whereby is assured knowledge of goddes wyll and pleasure, conteynynge the condicion of oure estate, required to enioy theffect of christes passion, whiche is the sūme of that I sayde hytherto, Nowe when ye reherse for myne article as foloweth. This fayth is a good gyfte, it is good and profytable to me. It is good and profitable to me to do well, and exercise this fayth. Ye note me to haue spoken a sort of good wordes, but suche as I spake not in dede, & be in dede nothing to the purpose. And it had ben a coold speache to say, fayth is a good gift, and it is good & profitable, & it is profitable to me, to do well. I that had called fayth the gift of god, & necessarily before al required for knowledge, it had ben worshipfully spokē afterwarde, to say, faith is a good gyfte by laken, as though any gyft of god, coulde be otherwyse then good. Barnes wyt was more fresh, & our matter more lyuely & quicke, thē to make these articles as ye note them, And they serue nothinge to the cōclusion, that ye reherse afterward ergo by the gyfte of

Pride that excludeth grace marred al in Barnes and in many mo.

of god, I may do wel before I am iustified. And that was in dede ỹ matter proponed betwene vs. whether a man myght haue grace to do well before he were iustified. For mayster Barnes had affirmed that albeit god sayth, we must forgyue our neyghbour, to obteyne forgyuenes of god, yet he said that god must forgiue vs first, before we forgyue our neighbour. For elles to forgyue our neighbour were sinne, by the text ỹ ye bring in: Al that is not of faith is sinne. A true sayeng, but brought in, to subuert truthe, as the deuyll dyd scripture. And in this dreame was Barnes, that folowynge the newe scoole of extremites, he denied all degrees of grace, as you do, and said: A man could do nothyng good or acceptable before the grace of iustification. For confutacion whereof I agreed fyrst with hym, and he with me, of the former proposicions, and came to this that we must haue fayth fyrste of all, to knowe what we shulde beleue. After this I asked him, yf a gentyle felte him self moued, to go heare a preachynge, or rede some parte of scrypture, whether wolde he call it well done of hym to go to the sermon and rede the scrypture, or were it synne, because it was before fayth? He sayde it was good: And then I sayde, it must nedes be so, for it was of God and profytable to hym. And thereupon folowed the conclusyon that ye laughe at, ergo a man maye do good before his iustificacion. Barnes was not contente in dede with the conclusion. And when he sawe that he

we aske forgyuenes of god euen as we forgyue one

God forgyueth vs fyrst, & we forgyue afterward we be proued by the parable of the ꝑsaunt he ought to do certayne dayes and the maister forgaue hym ỹ debt he went out and founde on of his felowes which ought hym a hundred pens ỹ he ought to do and he like to his felowe would not forgyue hym vntyl he

God shewed vs his mercyfull goodnes vnto vs fyrst of his owne motion towardes vs whyle we were yet the enemyes of a synner and he commaunded vs to loue our enemyes and to forgyue one another euen as he forgaue vs. Wherfore we be bounde to forgyue our brethren their trespasses vnto vs. Christ maketh no mencion of any satisfaccion to be made vnto god for our synnes but byddeth vs all thynges forgyue. Christen men vpon the truste of forgyuenes of synne vnder the condicion of amendement of lyfe and not vpon any satisfaccion to be made vnto god for our synnes. We be bounde to forgyue our brethren their offences or els god forgyueth vs not our synnes. Our dedes be not worthy to obteyne forgyuenes of our synnes but ye truste we haue in the

any thynge agaynst vs, then we must make

could

forgyuenes of synne

Folowyng ỹ god onely forgyueth vs & not thynke ỹ thorowe forgyuenes of other we deserue forgyuenes for ỹ whych we haue

coulde improue none of the partes, wherof it fo-
lowed: Then began he to say, that such a gentile
so moued, to go to the sermon, or to rede scrip-
ture, was then iustified of god in that motion.
And then I replied, Ergo men be iustified be-
fore faythe, and so were it by Barnes false, that
onely fayth iustifieth, for this man was iustified
without faythe. For howe shulde he haue fayth,
before he had harde, when fayth is of hearynge,
as saynt Paule sayth. But to defend and mayn-
tayne his fyrst fonde sayenge, that a man can do
no good thynge, before he be iustified, he was
fayne to mayntayne that a man is iustified, be-
fore he heareth and before he beleueth, and so cō-
founded he the degrees of goddes worckynge in
tyme in vs. Fyrst to call vs, and then to iustifie
vs, as saynt Paule declareth it. Those he hath
knowen, he hath predestinate, and those he hath
predestinate, he hath called, and those he hath
called, he hath iustified, and those he hath iusti-
fied, he hath glorified. So as callynge (whiche
god doth by many meanes) is before iustificati-
on, at the lest in order, or els if we consider no pri-
oritie in goddes worcking in tyme in vs, we must
aswell saye, god hath glorified vs, when he doth
iustifie vs, as that he hath iustified vs, at the cal-
lynge of vs. And in dede one of Barnes compa-
nions had preached, that god had iustified vs,
before the begynnyng of the world, puttinge no
difference, betwene iustificatiō in time, and pre-
destination and electiō that god worcketh aboue

Gerard that suffred with Barnes had so preached.

tyme

time, and such a cõfusion ariseth, where men will take vpon them, to affirme that they vnderstand not. And because they neither do ne minde to do, any good dedes, they wold perswade to ỹ worlde, that we can do no maner of good dedes tyll we haue no nede of them for our saluaciõ, that is to say, tyl we be iustified, and clerely in gods perfit fauour, & assured by our owne beleefe of life euerlastynge, and as though we shulde say to god: Gyue me my wages aforehand, and make me sure that I shall haue heauen, and then I profesle I will forgeue my neyghbour. Then I wil fast the true fast from synne. Then I wyl pray. then I wyll do almose. Then I wyll loue myne enemye. For then I can do it. And before that all our deades, al our thoughtes, be synne. Ne man can haue grace, to do any of these, before iustification. And so if beleefe be required before iustification, there ariseth then a meruelous perplexitie, howe I shuld worke wel the worke of beleefe, before I am iustified. But as we say, my synnes be forgyuen because I beleue, so bycause my sinnes were forgyuen, I dyd beleue. And for defence hereof, they enter into a darker matter of godes priuie counsayl of predestinacion, and make predestination the next and immediate cause to our saluaciõ. And then as all the worlde hath almost lefte doynge, so they shulde leaue talkynge of workes, yea and fayth also, and say that men be saued by predestination. For god hath so appoynted, whose wyll in them that be predestinate

I speake confusely of workes of iustice and workes of penaunce together, whyche they, do not distincte, as appereth by Iope in the last article, but for doctrine I say with saynt Austine, that bona opera (iustitie) sequuntur iustificationẽ, and opera penitencie precedunt.

Predestinacion.

shalbe fulfylled, and in them that be repꝛobate, can not be withstanded. Volũtati enim eius quis resistit? And so when men haue so longe stryuen to atteyne knowledge of the truth, and babled of fayth and wozkes, without atteyninge eyther of both: then as mẽ do, that be wery of all together, they resoꝛt to the ydle reasoninge, as the Grekes call it. That shalbe, shalbe. And as god hath appoynted so must it be, and God knoweth who be his, and he wyll lose none of them. And all beleued that were pꝛeꝛdinate to euerlastinge lyfe, and they that be indurate, can not heare oꝛ se, foꝛ god hath blynded them, finally al thinges come to passe by an absolute necessite, and so mannes lyfe, death, manours, behauour, state, condicion, and euery thinge is fixed, and fastened in his place appoynted, with nayles ryueted and clenched with meere necessite. This is the last conclusion of this teachynge. But when I say this nowe, I loke they wyl be in the toppe of me with exclamations, Wo fye on me wzetche that scoꝛneth pꝛedestinacion, and compareth the scriptures Wo idle reasoninge of the gentyles. And this they wyll aske me. Thou pappysche bysshop and folish lawer, doest thou deny pꝛedestinatiõ? doest thou denye goddes knowledge infallible? If god knoweth it shall it not be so? Be not those scriptures true, that thou semest to reherse in scoꝛne? do not god indurate whom he wyl, & haue mercy of whome he wyll? Hast any sophistrye to auoyd this scripture? Be not the woꝛdes playne lan-

guage

No conclusiõ is by Luther moꝛe stoutly affirmed thẽ this.

They vse the woꝛd papisti, to stop euery mans mouth withall.

guage: and be they not wrytten to vs so playnlye that we may vnderstande them: do not God knowe his: and be not all our heares numbred. To these men I wyll fyrst aunswer, or I go any further with you maister Joye, and say that I acknowledge gods predestinatiõ, as whereof I am most certeynly assured by scripture and also confesse the textes of scripture by me rehersed to conteyne a most certeine truth, and ought therefore to be worshypped and reuerenced. And am sory, to se the high mysterye of goddes predestinacion, and the scriptures lykewise, to be abused vnseinely by noughty men, to suche ende and effecte, as the Greekes and infidels vsed the false opinion of destynie, and that they called ἀργὸς λόγος. Thus I lament to se the truth so abused by myslvnderstandynge, and any sence to be taken of scripture, vnder the pretence of plainnes: that shulde be contrarie and repugnante to other scriptures, that be as playne. And therefore as two stones that be knocked together, put fourth a sparke of fyer, whiche appeared not in any of the stones alone. So two textes of scripture compared together put fourth a sparke of knowledge and vnderstandynge, which appeared in neyther of the textes alone. And therefore all such textes of scripture as seeme to attribute to man, power & faculte, of him self to do good, howe playnly so euer they be, I may gather no sense or vnderstanding of them, but such as may agree, wt those textes of scripture, ỹ shewe howe

Note this similityde for the vnderstãding of scriptures.

man of hym selfe can not do any good thynge, not so much as thinke a good thought, but it be by the speciall gyfte and grace of god. And howe playne so euer some of ꝑ textes of scripture seme: so to consydre man, as to resẽble hym to an earth pot at the pleasure of the potter, and onely to do as he is ordeyned to do by god, yet must we forbeare, to make any other sense, then such as may agree with other textes of scripture, that declare mans fre choyse, to receiue grace, whẽ it is offred him, or to refuse it, & continue in synne. The sense of scrypture is vnformme and playne when it is founde, and gyueth wysedome to them that be meeke in spirite, and not arrogant in presumption of knowledge, but ponge in vnderstandynge, knowyng thẽ selfes to haue nede of more. Mary the wordes of scripture wrytte by the coũsayle of ꝑ holye ghost, hath many tymes an outward apparaunce of contradiction, by occasion whereof to stape and exercise vs, in serchynge of the true sence, and to haue the more estimation of it, whẽ we haue foũde it. And therfore it is a great cause of temeritie and boldnes, to beare men in hande that the wordes of scripture, be so playne and euidente, where as in dede, beynge the wordes appoynted to conteyne so hyghe misteries, they be so placed and ordered, as they do couer and hyde such precious iewelles, and require a conuenient openinge, to shewe fourth, that is conteyned in thẽ. And therfore the wordes of scripture, be not so playne and open as men wolde haue

Gregory Nazianzene noteth how easynes & facilitie, hath negligence ioyned to them. and hardnes: diligẽce, care & estimation.

When christe opened the scriptures to his disciples, they perceyued that before was hid thẽ. So much worketh right openynge.

haue them to be estemed, but require a serche as Christ sayd. Serche the scriptures. And sayncte Peter saith, that in sayncte Pauls epistels be many harde places, which many haue depraued &c. And albeit the true sēse of scripture, hath ben by the spirite of god preserued in the church, as certeine and inuiolable, how so euer it hath ben impugned in sundry ages: yet haue some wordes of scripture in certayne places ben for a tyme maliciously chaunged, sometyme left out negligently, sometyme of ignorannce peruerted, & agayne by goddes goodnes restored, but not withoute lerninge, and senses exercised in knowledge, as doth appere by such labours as good men haue employed by goddes gift and assistaunce, for the clere expoūdyng of ꝑ scriptures. And thus much I say to the facilite and easye vnderstandyng of scripture, which many do arrogantly presume to haue by them selfes atteyned. As to the misterie of predestination, which is gods high secrecye, scripture enforceth all men to confesse, the predestination of god in his sayntes, whereof sayncte Paule speaketh specially in the epistle to the Romaynes and also to the Ephesians, which is also noted and signified in the prophetes, and spoken of and touched in euery parte of scripture. For as the tenure of the latter iudgement, cōteyneth howe god hath prepared a kyngdome: So hath he prepared a chosen people, to enioye that kyngdome. And this hath god wrought as saint Paule sayeth accordynge to the purpose of his

For wāte of this serche, mnche error is taken for truth.

When may of malyce corrupt the wordes of scripture.

Predestinacion.

A significatiō of predestination.

owne wyl and goodnes: in prayse of his glory, to be communicated vnto man. And so we may cal predestination the decree of god to helpe and directe men chosen, to thende of their glorificatiō. And so whom so euer god choseth, he predestinateth. Whom he predestinateth, he calleth. Whom he calleth, he iustifieth, and whome he iustifieth he glorifieth. Whereby appeareth, howe god is the auctor, thayder, thallister, and continuall helper, to bryng man to felicitie. And hereof god doth assure vs, that thus he worketh with his electe people, whereof we shoulde conceyue great consolation and comfort, beyng perswaded that god is with good mē. And if he be with vs, what can we feare any man or deuyll? And so longe as we remembre goddes election and predestination to this effect: it is profitable to vs. And when we enterpryse to vnclaspe the boke of lyfe, and wyll presume to deuour thapple of secret knowledge, to be lyke god in vnderstandyng & knowledge of the good and euyll men, and se howe god ordereth his election, and decree of predestinacion, in discerninge one man from an other without acception of persons, and yet leauyng therewith to all men fre choyse and election, to vse goddes gyftes or reiecte them. We that be thus curiouse, shalbe ejected and cast out by the aungell of god, and thrust into the darknes and blyndnes of our sensuall reasonyng, and so confounde our selfes with doubt vpon doubte, as we can not tell what to saye. Here some wyl percase,

A comfortable remembraunce of predestinatiō,

case, reply that I haue spoken a meany of good wordes, which serue rather to wind vp the matter agayne, then to declare it. For that I haue sayde hetherto of predestination, is the sense of a fewe wordes of the wise man, sayenge. Seke not for thynges that be aboue thy capacitie, and let goddes secrecies alone. And after this forte saynte Paule handled this matter to the Romayns in the.ix.chapter, and continueth in that matter, to the.xii. concluding there with an exclamation of the height of the wysdome of god, and of his counsailes and iudgementes, not able to be cõprehended by mans vnderstandyng, but the proces of that matter wel digested shuld muche satisfye all men, in consideration of this high mysterye. For when saynt Paule for declaration of his aboundaunce of charity towardes his nacion of the Iewes, with a zeale of the settynge forth of goddes glorye, as he wisshed him self abiecte from goddes fauour, so all the Iewes myght be saued, to whom god had shewed so manye prerogatyues: He aunswered then, as it were to the obiection of a murmurynge Iewe, that wolde impute the falle of the Iues to the chaunge of gods pleasure, meanyng (as it were) blasphemously, that god had fayled of his worde and promysse. And fyrst saynt Paule sayth: The worde of god hath not fayled for the promysse was not made of god, to all ỹ Iewes, but only to the very true Israelites. And al the sede of Abraham, be not the sonnes of Abraham of

Here myghte be an ende, if men were content.

The worde of god fayleth not, but is sumtyme not well vnderstanded.

of whome god ment, but onely in Isaac Abra-
hams sede shalbe estemed. And not they that by
carnal generation only came of Abraham, shuld
be the sonnes of God, but they alone that were
the children of the promysse. By opening wher-
of, saynt Paule mynded to put suche a Jewe to
silence, with declaracio of the Jewes ignoraūce,
that he vnderstode not the promysse of god as it
was made, but vnderstod it carnally, as though
it had ben made to a carnall generation. And
then saynt Paule, to declare further to the that
wolde fynd out the cause of the Jewes reiection
on goddes behalf, how farre goddes iudgemen-
tes & choyses excede our capacite, sheweth howe
god without al difference to be atteyned by mās
iudgement, dyd chose Jacob and reproue Esau,
hauyng both one father, one mother, in one time
begotten, neyther of them yet borne, neither ha-
uynge done any worke why to be preferred the
other, not onlye hereby hiding from vs the cause
of such election, and prefermente of the yonger
to the elder, but also taking away all coniecture
of causes, to the intente all such wayes, of search
and diuinacion of goddes secrete doinges shuld
be taken away from the curiosite of mans wyt.
And where any thinge altereth otherwyse then
man loketh for: there for to confesse that god is
all truth, and all wysedome, & we without gods
gyftes, be all folye and faultie, so as we ought to
worshyp goddes wyll, as cause of all causes, di-
rectinge all thinge in equitie and iustice, num-
bre

Gods iudge-
mētes excede
our capacite.

Gods wyl is
cause of all
causes, but
not cause im
mediate of al
thynge.

bze and measure, the perticuler discussion where-
of, no mans wyt can perticulerly compzehende.
Foz as no man hath sene god as he is: so no man
can se throughly all the secrecie of gods wozke-
manshyp, but only so much as is opened vnto
vs. Wherefoze saynt Paule as he dyd in the first
declaration of Abzahams seede and posterite,
laye before the murmuring Jewe, his ignozaũce
in the vnderstandynge of goddes pzompsse: So
doth he in openyng of goddes election of Jacob
and Esau, teache by this occasion all the wozlde,
howe goddes determinacions be hydden from
vs, and euery wyndow shyt vp, where we might
pere into thẽ. And yet man can not let this mat-
ter alone. And the moze secret it is, the moze bu-
sye we be to knowe. And therefoze saynt Paule
in the person of a murmurer, deuiseth this en-
countringe with god. What shal we say? Is ini-
quitie with god? nay god forbydde. And yet I
se that god pzeferreth the yonger to thelder. And
I can not fysshe out any cause oz coniecture, to
call the dede equitie in mans reason, but rather
because the yonger is pzeferred there appereth
to mans reason a cause of iniquitie. Wherefoze
we be lerned by saynt Paule, that we muste in
suche wyse, subdue our vnderstandyng to fayth,
that beleuynge vndoubtedlye god is all iustice,
we maye not esteme any thynge, certaynly affir-
med to be done by him to be vniust. Foz as saynt
Chzisostome sayeth. God seeth with other eyes
then we do. And as the carpenter choseth a

Man can nether com-
pzehẽde god
ne his wozkes.

God hideth
his secretes
from vs.

we can not atteyne the reason of goddes workes.

peece of tymbre, to serue his purpose, the reason whereof a man vnskylled, can not discerne: So god to buyld his church, choseth after his knowledge, wherevnto we can not atteyne. And therefore we must submitte and humble tharrogancie of oure vnderstandynge, to goddes wysedome, & beleue that which god teacheth and byddeth, to be al true, although the matter in consideracion of our iudgemente be impossible to be sette together. For so dyd Abraham beleue god in his promysse of the multiplication of his seede by Isaac, and beleued god also, when he badde him go offre vp Isaac in sacrifice, and yet if Abrahā vpon the commaundement of the offring of his sonne, had debated with hym self, howe the former promisse and the last cōmaundement, might haue agreed together, he should not haue found howe to haue ioyned them in one truth. Whiche Abraham dyd not, but without staye (as ẏ scripture reaporteth the storye) wente about, that he was commanuded to do, and leauyng the curiosite of reasonyng, beleued in hope agaynst hope. And therfore lykewyse where scripture signifieth to me gods prouidence and predestination, which shulde seeme to take awaye, and be repugnaunt to the free choice of man, forasmuch as the scriptures be neuerthelesse in that matter of fre choyce, also euidente, I must beleue bothe to be true, as Abraham did, although I can not set thē together. But let vs returne to saynt Paule, who reiecting such blasphemye of god, as to say

we must beleue for truth, that we can not deuyse, how it shulde be truth.

that

ỹ god hath iniquitie, doth not go about to proue that god hath no iniquitie, for we maye not require the proke therof, but as it is moste true, so muste we mooste certeynlye beleue it. But sayncte Paule doth rather go about to confounde mãs iudgement, moze and moze, that wold enterprise to discerne gods secret iudgementes, and to that purpose bringeth in the aũswer of god to Moyses, when he prayed god, to perdonne the synne of Idolatrie, cõmitted by them that worshipped the golden calf, which aunswer of god was, that god wold haue compassiõ of thẽ that he thought good to pardon, and shewe mercy to suche as it pleased him, whereby appeared, that amonge a multitude that offended a lyke to mans iudgement, god in ministraciõ of mercy vsed the pleasure of his wyll, makynge a difference, in distribucion of his mercy, where mans reason coulde perceyue no difference in thoffence. So as neyther mans willynge or runnynge, atteyneth the effecte, but by the mercy of god. And after this sayncte Paule bringeth in ỹ scripture of Pharao, whom god stirred vp to shew his vertue in him, and to shewe forth gods name, in the hole earth, in which Pharao, the withdrawynge of goddes mercye whiche he obstinatelye withstoode, notwythstandynge so many myracles wroughte by goddes powre to call hym to mercye, the sayde Pharaos induraciõ, grewe and folowed in such sorte as mans reason wyl therof gather and cõclude whom so euer god wyll haue mercy on, he

A busy wyt must be confoũded, and so tamed like a yonge colte in a newe falowed lande, broughte to knowe his imbecillite.

ministreth it vnto hym, and whose hart god will harden, he hardeneth. And then it foloweth that if this be so, god hath no cause to complayne of man, as the murmerer sayth, who is facioned & placed after gods wyll which no man can resist. Wherin saynt Paule learneth vs, to what issue the presumptuouse searchinge of goddes secrete iudgementes commeth vnto, whereby manne studieth to impute his faulte to goddes ordenaunce, to arrecte all the blame to god, & excuse our selfe. And further saynt Paule teacheth vs, howe to represse suche mennes arrogante temeritie, to encountre with god and pertlye to aske hym why he cõplayneth of that he hath hym selfe ordeyned, for as he hath wylled, all thynge is, such a rebuke as foloweth is verye mete and cõuenient, as what man arte thou, that canste vse such language to god? Shall the worke that is made aske the craftes man: whye madeste me thus? may not the potter of one lumpe of claye, make one vessell, to an honeste vse, and a nother to a vyle vse? In this wyse and wyth suche sorte of aunswer, shuld the mouth of eche proude presumtuouse arrogante wytte, be stopped, that wolde attempte, so to dispute goddes workes, as in conclusion, he myghte deryue, the verye cause of mannes iniquytye, to be attribute to goddes ordenaunce, as dyrected by his onelye wyll. Howe vnsemely is it that the worke shuld strywe wyth the craftes man? we shoulde be all in the hande of god, as the claye is in the hande of

Pryde by boldnes encreseth, and stayeth not til it come to the highest.

A presumptuous boldnesse, must be put to silence.

of the potter, folowynge, obedient, ſtyll, quyet, without reaſonynge, or murmurynge at goddes ordenaunce. And here ſaynte Chriſoſtome noteth that this ſimilitude of the potter, is not brought in by ſaynte Paule, to declare that god hath created men in the worlde, as the potter maketh pottes, ſpecyallye appoyntyng this man or that man to be dampned, as the potter maketh certayne byle pottes, for then we ſhulde affyrme a mere neceſſyte. But this ſimilitude of the craftes man and potter, is brought to declare oure parte towardes God, not to reaſon with god of our ſtate, and controll his doinges, but to honour hym, obeye hym, wyth contentemente of our ſelfe in our eſtate, without all irreuerent encountryng with our craftes man god, no more then other workes of men, do with theyr craftes man. So as in thys paſſe of ſaynt Paule, ſaynte Chriſoſtome is verye dylygente to note and conferme vnto vs, that ſaynt Paule mynded not to empayre the true doctryne of mannes free choyſe, gyuen of God, to be the cauſe of hys owne dampnacyon, by refuſynge goddes gyfte of grace, whereby he myghte be ſaued, and that the induration of Pharao grew of his owne malyce, only by goddes ſufferaunce and permyſſyon, and this doctrine hath euer ben in Chryſtes churche from the begynnyng, which Symon Magus dyd fyrſte impugne and was the fyrſt auctour of the hereſie of mere neceſſitie,

Note this vnderſtandynge of ſaint Paule in this place

Manes free choyſe hath ben a perpetuall true doctrine in chriſtes churche

Symon Magus the fyrſte auctor of mere neceſſite.

which heresie hath ben in sundry ages renued, as it hath ben of late by luther & other, and not yet extinct. But let vs returne agayne to saynte Paule, who after he hath stopped the vnshamefast mouth of the murmuringe Jewe, that wold impute the reiectiō of the Jues, to goddes ordenaunce. Saynte Paule entendynge to declare where the cause of the Jews fall, is to be sought and founde, after certayne textes brought oute of the prophetes Osee and Isaye, sygnifieng before such a reiection to be of the Jewes, Saynte Paule asketh what shall we say then, if it be not to be attributed to gods faulte or iniquitie? whiche is ouer greate blasphemye, that the Jewes were caste out and the ientiles receyued. Quid dicemus? what shall we saye? where shal we find the cause of their reiection? wherunto it is aunswered & a cause declared as foloweth, that the ientyles, not folowynge the iustice of workes, embraced the very iustice by fayth. And the Israelites folowynge the lawe of iustice, atteyned it not, because they wente about to obteyne it by workes and not by fayth. So as finally this lesson we muste learne, whereof saynte Paule spake in the begynnynge of the epistle. Deus uerax est, et omnis homo mendax. And we muste worshyppe goddes truthe, and accuse our owne iniquite. We muste seke the cause of our dampnacion, in our owne malice, & not in gods ordenaunce. Perditio tua ex te Israel. We muste acknowledge the inscrutable wysedome of god, that

God is truthe & all men are [illegible]

The cause of mās damnation, in hym selfe.

Thi perdition is of thi self o Israell.

that so disposeth all thinge swetely, as all men haue cause to magnifie his mercy, and no man by goddes ordre, tempted to murmur of his iustice. Those that be dampned must lament their owne miserie. Those that be saued must glory in god, who hath predestinate them, called thē, iustified them, and glorified them. And therefore death is a due soulde for synne, and lyfe euerlastynge due by the grace of god. What shall I saye nowe? haue I lerned you what is predestination throughly? nay for sothe. Nor I haue taken that vpon me. But thus much I know, that predestination doth not impugne the free choyse of man, ne restrayneth the goodnes of god with acception of persons, or diminisshe that sentence of saynt Paule. Deus uult omnes homines saluos fieri, et ad agnitionē ueritatis uenire. God wylleth al men to be saued and come to ẏ knowledge of ẏ truth. And christ bad preach the gospell to all creatures. And god speaketh by Ezechiell, that if a synner to whome god had sayde he shulde dye, left his wickednes and turned to hym, he shalbe saued. And when soeuer a synner wayleth his synnes, he shal lyue: Nowe these defendours of mere necessitie, which they do mysvnderstandynge predestinacion, they handell al these generall places of scripture, as though the speache of god were lyke the common prouerbe, when the skye fall we shall haue larkes. Understandinge al such condicions as impossible. So as when he that is necessitate to be dampned

turneth

God wold haue all men saued & to come to the knowledge of the truth

turneth to god, he shalbe saued. But suche one shall neuer turne, as the skye shall not fall. And so the textes I haue brought in, suche as speake generallye, be in their iudgementes to no purpose. And in deade they them selfes be ouerturned in their owne iudgement. For if their opinion were true, there neded no preachinge, prayer, ministracion of sacramentes, or any memorye or remembraunce of christ, but as the Turkes do, ones in a weke tell the people out of the steppll, ye that are predestinate, shalbe of necessitie saued, ye that are not predestinate, shalbe of necessitie dampned. And so an ende of all other serche in that matter whiche hath no alteracion, after their fansy, that dreame of necessitie. Here again, I am lyke to here somewhat that I speake thus lyghtly of predestinacio. I am sory I haue cause to note mens lyghtnes in such an high misterie. I haue hard one say vnto me, that he knew him selfe predestinate. A marueilouse matter how they talke of predestinacion, beinge a worke of god without vs, and of vs to be honoured in silence as a great misterie, the circumstance wherof our capacites can not cõprehend. And yet men haue reuerently traueled in the consideracion of it. Saynt Augustine hath written a treatyce, de predestinatione sanctorũ. And how so euer men wold wrest him to conferme theyr opinion of necessitie, he him selfe is playne in the condempnacion of necessitie, for it doth clearely extincte all vertue and vice, and lykewyse heauen and hell,

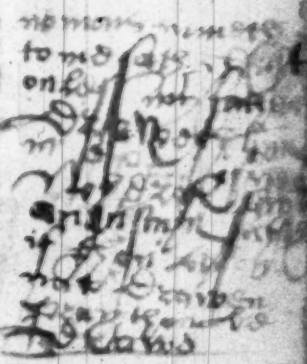
The inconuenience of mere necessitie.

Necessitie extincteth al law.

when

when it is throughly thought on, with the true opinion of God also, and finally the ordre of the world, if it be wel considered. You mayster Joye percace waxe wery of my bablynge (as ye wyll terme it) and wyll aske me what I meane? and interrogate me homely, what I wold say of p̄destinatiō, & I coulde speake? Surely to this tendeth ẏ I haue spokē, that I wolde predestinacion were honoured as it shulde be, lesse talked of, and better vnderstanded, so much thereof, as it hath pleased god to reuele to his churche. And for my self I note that saynt Augustine expoundynge the sayenge of Christ. Nemo uenit ad me nisi pater meus traxerit eum, in thexposiciō therof, sayth. Si non traheris, ora ut traharis. Quem trahat, et quem non trahat, noli querere, si nō uis errare. No man commeth to me (sayth christ) onlesse my father draweth hym. In the exposicion whereof Saynt Augustine sayth: If thou beest not drawen, praye that thou mayest be drawen, but whom god draweth, & whom he draweth not, aske not yf thou wylt not erre. Nowe thus wyll mans reason tumble in this matter. If god hath decreed alreadye whom he wyll drawe, & whom he wyll not drawe, then it is to late to pray to be drawen, or not nedefull, for god will drawe as he hath determined, and none otherwyse. And this reason extendeth to all maner of exhortacions, eyther to be not effectuall, as to late after predestination, or not nedeful, as I haue alredy said. Out of this cōbre I rydde my self easely, w̄ such

Predestinacion to be honoured.



An argumēt of mans reason in predestinacion,

diſcuſſion, as I haue redde and lerned of men exerciſed in ſcriptures, whiche is that when we ſpeake of God, with diſtinction of tyme, of anye woꝛke done by god out of time, we ſpeake impꝛo perlye. Of that god woꝛketh in tyme, we maye conuenientlye diſtinct the tyme. we may ſay: God hath ſent his ſonne into the woꝛlde to redeme man, foꝛ it was in tyme (as ſcripture ſayth) whē the fulnes of tyme was. But when we ſaye god hath pꝛedeſtinate and choſen vs befoꝛe the begynnyng of the woꝛlde, the ſpeache is not hable to expꝛeſſe the matter, and ſemeth to ſignifie a tyme paſt, where in dede there is none paſt. Foꝛ there is no tyme paſt where was no tyme, ſo as we muſte acknowledge thimperfytnes of oure ſpeache, wherin the hollye gooſt ſpeaketh to imperfit men. And therefoꝛe the pꝛetertens rather declareth a perfection in thacte, then the paſſing ouer of the time in the acte. Like as (in hath glorified and hath iuſtified in them that be not yet boꝛne) we vnderſtand not iuſtificacion and glorification as an acte paſt, becauſe it is wꝛitten in the pꝛetertenſe, foꝛ then both in iuſtifienge and gloꝛifienge, we muſt ſay, all is done befoꝛe the begynninge of the woꝛlde, foꝛ the verbes expꝛeſſinge thactes of iuſtificacion, and gloꝛification, be put in the pꝛetertence, that pꝛedeſtinacion is wꝛitten in. And ſo if we ſhoulde deduce oure argumentes from the tyme, we muſt ſay that god hath iuſtified and gloꝛified them at ones, with pꝛedeſtinacion, whiche were a playne abſurdite.

And

And yet oure imperfitte speache so soundeth, as though glorificacion were done with predestinacion. And albeit ỹ pretertence signifieth in scripture the tyme to come, as appereth in many places, yet in this place, quos iustificauit glorificauit, the futurtēce can not fully expresse that is signified, for it is done vs to vnderstande, ỹ God whose workes be hydden in secrete, & who worketh continually, hath from the begynnynge fauored man, and accordynge to his knowledge, hath before all tyme elected & predestinate, that is to say, before the begynnynge of the worlde, and in tyme hath called, doth call, and shall call, hath iustified, doth iustify, and shal iustify, hath glorified, doth glorify and shal glorify, his elect & predestinate, in suche measure as his pleasure hath appoynted. ¶ I do not here go about (good reader) blasphemously to depraue the scripture, and to fynd fault at that which can not be better spoken, beinge the penne, as we truelye and certenly beleue, directed by the holye gooste, but to note vnto the, howe the holy gooste hath expressed the workinge of god in our saluacion in such a parte of speache, as might signifie in the same speache a thinge mooste assured, whiche is the pretertence, for to our vnderstandynge, that is mooste assured to be, that is past, and yet with god that shall be, is in lyke assurednes, as that is alredy done. And therefore when we go about to descante in scripture, tyme, which was not by that scripture sygnyfyed vnto vs, we then fall

The phrase of scripture, conceyued by the holy goste

streight in erroꝛ. As when we rede wꝛitte of god the father, that he hath begotten his ſonne, the ſecond perſon in trinitie, if we ſhal in that verbe (genuit) hath begotten, conſider tyme, as we do in an other ſcripture (Abraham genuit Iſaac) Abꝛaham hath begotten Iſaac, we ſhuld ſaye (which were folyſh) that god the father was beꝛe god the ſõne, as Abꝛahã was beꝛe Iſaac, but in one place, the verbe ſignifieth the acte without tyme, when we ſpeake of god, and in the other, the acte with tyme. So as when the ſcripture telleth vs: God hath choſen, god hath pꝛedeſtinate, god hath foꝛſeen al, god hath knowen all, beꝛe the beginnyng of the woꝛld: here theſe verbes, hath choſen, hath pꝛedeſtinate, hath ſene, hath knowen, do declare theſe actes in god, to be moſt perfit, but not any ſuche tyme to paſſe as man dꝛeameth of, foꝛ theſe actes in god, be without time, and aboue tyme, and ſo is ſignified vnto vs, by thoſe woꝛdes beꝛe the begynnyng of the woꝛlde, when was no tyme, whiche woꝛdes neuertheleſſe, mans curiouſe wyt vſed to an other ſignification, to gather of them that thoſe actes be paſt in god, as done beꝛe the begynnynge of the woꝛlde, where as in dede, albeit thoſe actes of pꝛouidence, election, and pꝛedeſtination, were in god moſt perfit then, beꝛe the begynnynge of the woꝛlde, yet they were not in god paſt then, foꝛ (paſt) ſignifieth an effluxion of tyme, which is not in god who is eternall. The vnlerned arrogant reader wyl here wax angry that

In obiection

that I shuld go about, by sophistrie (as he wold call it) to entangle playne wordes, and to make hym bileue that before the begynnynge of the worlde is not yet past, and then he wyll go lustly forth to proue me a foole, if the begynnynge of the worlde be not yet past, then the worlde is yet to begyn. And then you mayster Ioye wyll percase extende the matter further and saye: If I be let alone, I wyll proue by sophistrie and iuggelynge, that nothinge is past, and in dede if the begynnyng of the world be not past, nothinge to vs is past, for in the world we be comprehended. But I say and affirme, the begynnynge of the worlde is past. Then wyll you reason thus: That which is before that is past, that is muche more past. As yf noon be past, much more ỹ morning of that day is past. But I graunt that the begynnynge of the worlde, is past, ergo all that was before it, is much more past. And then further ye wyl reason thus. The electiõ of god was before ỹ beginning of the world, as saynt Paule sayth, ergo ỹ election of god is more thẽ past, as done before the beginning of the world which is past. To this I aunswer, that whẽ ye go about to measure gods workes wᵭ our wordes, ye come shorte, for oure speache can not expresse, ne oure thought cõprehend ỹ cirũstance of gods worke, nether in tyme nor place. And Gregory Nazianzene wysely noteth and also deuoutly, that if god could be throughly comprehended of man, either in his thought or vnderstandyng, god were not-

In aunswer

superior to man. For what so euer is comprehended, is lesse then that comprehendeth it, & therefore we must confesse truly that god comprehendeth all, and is in no wyse hollye comprehended. So much as scripture telleth vs of god, and his workes, wrought in tyme, or aboue all tyme, so muche we knowe illuminate by fayth, but when we wyll, by our consideration, after the measure of our owne vnderstandynge, by thynges within the compasse of our creacion (whiche in dede passe in tyme) esteme goddes doinges before tyme, and call them past also because they be before the begynnynge of the worlde: we deceyue our selfe as muche as if in consideration of place, we shoulde speake of god, as we speake of men, that because god is here he is not there, which no man is so madde to saye, because god is euery where. And as man by participation of gods gift, may in his thought and memorye, represente thinges past, with them that be present, without distaunce of tyme, And a man with his eye, without distaunce of place or tyme in the action of seing, conioyne together at ones, thinges which in them selfe be one farre from an other, as I may see houses standyng one .v. or .x. myle beyonde an other, and shippes saylynge one before, and one behynde an other a great distaũce, & yet they be all together at ones, in thaction of my syght. So god who hath giuen man these giftes, beinge of hym self, in his knowledge and actions, most excellent, doth with his eye se, that is in the worlde, before and after, without anye

before

before or after, in his knowledge, and lykewise worketh without tyme (that is to saye) choseth & predestinateth without any (before or after, paste or to come) which be onely distinctions of tyme. And yet we maye not gather hereof, in goddes workes a confusion, but beleue that all his workes haue such order in thē as we cay not atteine. And lerne this lesson of humilitie, that goddes secrete workes excede our capacitie, & may not therfore be measured by our lāguage. For as ỹ gentyle philosopher said, of whom Gregory Nazianzene speketh, in his worke. Περὶ θεολογίας. θεὸν νοῆσαι μὲν χαλεπὸν, φράσαι δὲ ἀδύνατον It is hard (he saied) to knowe god thoroughly, but impossible to expresse god in lāguage. Wherein he noteth the colorable speache of the philosopher, to hide his owne ignoraūce, as though he knew more of god, thē he could expresse, where in god & his workes, ỹ tongue & hart be both imperfit, and neyther sufficient in that behalf, & spectally the tunge, and therfore we maye in no wise understand the speach in the explicacion of goddes actes, as of men, and thynke bicause it is writtē: God hath chosen, and hath predestinate, ỹ therefore his choise and predestination be past, wherupon to groūd our argumētes, of (before & after past & to come) wherwith to deceyue our self. Nay whē soeuer in scripture god knitteth tyme to his working, ỹ worke must nedes passe with the time, as when we rede howe god hath create the worlde, hath destroied Sodome & Gomor, hath ouerwhelmed ỹ world wt water, hath made promysse

Gods workes be moost orderlye, but we can not conceyue the order, as they be all done, most iustly, but we cānot dyscusse hys iustice.

Περὶ θεολογίας

mysse to Abraham, hath cast Adam out of paradyse, and suche infinite actes done in tyme, those actes be called past by succesſe of tyme. But whē god putteth no tyme to his worckynge, but declareth his worckynges, to be without the compasse of tyme: it is the faulte of oure curiositie, to compasse suche an acte of god with the termes of (past or to come, before or after) which be distinctions of tyme, wherein we shulde onely confesse that god vndoubtedlye doth the act, which scripture affirmeth god to do, and to professe our ignorance, of the circumstances, how it is done, and to be content with ꝑ sence of scripture, without reasoning of the wordes, after our capacitie, and so to worship the election and predestinacion of god in silēce, as we adde not therunto, thimaginacion of an acte passed alredy in god, by reason whereof we might dreame, that in our choise or endeuor when god offreth his giftes vnto vs, we came to late, because god in our fansie, hath determined his pleasure alredy, that can not be chaunged. For the consideration of tyme, which in our vnderstanding, passeth ouer, compared with the acte of god, beynge in dede without any tyme, encombreth our wyttes and vnderstandynges in the conceyuynge of the matter, where as the tyme beinge disseuered in our vnderstandynge, from goddes acte, whiche tyme maketh to vs a thought of (before or after) we be delyuered of the repugnaunce, that tyme tyd engendre, and our argumentes taken away from naturall wytte, which were grounded all vpon

The election and predestinatiō of God to beworshipped in silēce.

Note this.

vpon tyme, whereby we be dryuen from reasoninge to a stilence, meruelyng and worshypping as we shulde do alwayes the hygh mysteries of god, farre excedynge our capacite. And in this wyse some haue lernedly and reuerently entreated this matter, not with presumption to discusse it absolutely, but with an humble and reuerent meke spirite, to note that myght be truely considered in the same, and finally to lerne vs, that in dede, we knowe not, ne can not knowe this high matter thoroughly, because the meanes of oure knowledge be taken awaye, and so the thynges hidden from vs, wherin we may not do as arrogant artificers, be accustomed to do, who when they perceyue not in dede the counsayle of hym that deuysed fyrst any platte, they take vpon thē neuertheless, to set the fraime together, & marre some principal postes, or cast them out as vaine, because they can not tell howe to ioyne thē with the rest, whom such men folow, who because they can not tell howe to fraime gods choise, & mans choise together, they mangle and denye mans choise, and cast it away as vayne, beinge a principall parte to be beleued in our religion. Thus much as I haue redde & lerned, I vtter it whereby to teach you soberlye, as much knowledge as I haue (that is to say) ignorance, in this matter. In this ye mayster Iope wyll agree with me, that I haue tolde you ignorance, and call it mere ignorance, and saye I haue shewed my selfe, in tossynge and syftinge of wordes to exer-

cise the crafte of ignoraunce, not to teach but to blynde, not to gyue lyght but to darken, so as albeit ye rude men can not aunswer, to the sophistry of the argumentes, yet the matter in the vnderstandyng (as ye wyl say) remayneth as it did, for in what so euer wordes we shoulde speake it, or though we wāt wordes to speake it, ẏ thinge is thus in your opinion as foloweth. Fyrst god is before man was. Anteq̄ Abraham fieret ego sum, Christ saide. And whether before signifieth tyme or no tyme, whereof youre playne scolers wyll saye they can no skyll, before is before and not after, and why call we it the prouidence of god, but because it is a foresight, and none after sight, ne withsight, and predestination lykewyse a former decre, and prescience, a former knowledge. And to charge me further, you mayster Joye, wyll note to your scolers, that I my selfe speake sometyme after the same sorte, and saye, god choseth vs fyrst, and god preuenteth vs w̄ his grace, and what is preuenteth, but commeth before, and god prepareth mans wyll, that is to saye, maketh readye before. And god calleth, before he iustifieth, and god iustifieth before he glorifieth. And when scripture speaketh of this sort, and I my selfe also, then (ye wyll saye) I make a trouble in the consideration of tyme, and cause my tyme in wrytynge and yours in readynge, to passe ouer without fruyte. For when ye rede me, ye fynde your self perplexed, and entangled with wordes, but when ye haue wounde your self frō

those

those thorny wordes, the thinge is in your mind as it was before. Hereunto I wyll say somwhat that if ye like your selfe, in your owne fansey, so well as whatsoeuer ye conceiue for truth, is euer also to you true, in the sort ye comprehende it: I marueyle not, though my wordes be not frutefull to you, for I go aboute to teache you ignoraunce, and you be so slotted and dotynge vpon the false persuasion of knowledge, that ye can not abyde, to haue your pleasaunt opinion remoued and taken from you, As he that in his fansye thought all that he sawe to be his owne, was sorye, when he was healed of his fansye, thinking him selfe to haue lost a great losse, to se hym selfe then so poore. For els, yf ye lyst to make this foundacion, that man seeth no more of god then god hath shewed and reueled by his scriptures, and that al the scripture is so vniforme in sense, as it is all but one worde, which admitteth no repugnaunce or contrariete, and therewith remembre, that wordes of scripture, although in respecte of the matter they conteyne, they be in dede and be called holly, and so to be reuerenced, and honoured, as an ymage representyng gods wyll vnto vs, and therefore at the speakinge of them, in presence of the multitude, do put of our cappe and bowe, yet those wordes as wordes be in dede, wordes of our commō language in Englishe, and suche as dissseuered and remoued a parte from that hollye matter, men put to other prophane vses, by reason wherof we may easlye

Englysche speache lately made by englysh men (as we now speake it) placed to expres god, or anye godly thing, may be honored not with godly honor, but with reuerent behauiour without daunger of idolatry.

deceyue our selues in them, and be dayly deceyued. And moreouer if we coulde consider, that it is a more shame, confusion and rebuke to vs, to be noted in an error, of blusterynge knowledge, then to be accompted in the numbre of simple ignorauntes. And finally that in consideration of god and his workes, after knowledge by fayth, that god certaynly is, we shulde rather studye to knowe, howe much we knowe not of god, then to presume to knowe all. He that were thus instructed, and prepared by goddes grace, he wolde as diligently lerne to condempne his owne knowledge with his ignorauce, as to auaunce his vnderstandinge, to that maye be atteyned. And to suche one yt he consider, that is before written, I shall be seene, not only to haue touched the wordes, but also the matter, which I specially entented, wherin I laboured to declare that scripture, whiche reueleth god vnto vs by fayth, doth not in the wordes alwayes fullye signifye, that we gather of them, but be written sometyme to do vs vnderstād the thing to be in god, or wrought by hym withoute circumstaunce of the measure of tyme, as we cōceyue it. For whē Chryst sayed. Before Abraham was, I am, the tyme in thys speache, is not after oure measure, for the presente Tens, in God, is placed in the speache before the pretertens in man, whiche in oure accompte is contrarye. And as for prouidence, predestynacyon, and prescyence, that we take to sygnifye with the actes tyme, signifyeth perfec-

tion

tion absolute in God in those actes, who in contemplacion of hym selfe, seeth and knoweth perfytelye and absolutelye all hys workes, choseth also & predestinateth after hys wyll, whyche is mooste iuste, and hath no neede of anye adimynycle or helpe of the circumstaunce of the thing, or to abyde the beynge of it, and therefore scripture sayeth. God dothe it before all tyme, without all place (that is to saye) before the begynnynge of the worlde, when there was nether tyme nor place. But here ye wyll snappe at me, and leauynge tyme and place a parte yet ye say ye maye gether. Ergo it is done. Leaue (q̄ you) the wordes, and speake of the thynge. If the election and predestinacion of god were done before the begynnynge of the worlde, they be not vndone nowe, and eyther the acte of election and predestynacyon in God muste be done, vndone, or doynge. For mans vnderstandynge, concludeth it muste be one of those three. And surelye for so muche ye tell me trueth, for mans vnderstandynge can go no further. And yf ye coulde proue me therewyth that mans vnderstandynge maye penetrate throughlye all gods secretes, and then haue language to vtter it, ye hadde sayde then the hole matter, or elles yf ye can not do that (as ye can not in dede) ye muste to the foresayde three (done, vndone, or doynge) put a fourte, that is to saye, or elles ye can not tell, what to saye in it, and in that fourte, I wolde yelde vnto you. For that is the

verye

verye lesson I wolde lerne you, to say, you could not tell. For yf you shal come to your thre (done, vndone, or doing) conteyned within the capacitie of mans wytte, and perusynge them in order, thinke of election and predestination in god, as done, in such wyse as done soundeth to vs an act past, and frame these principall postes of electiō and predestinatiō, in that ioynt, and please your selfe in it, as well set together, ye shall fall to the abhomination of mere necessitie, and marre the two principal postes, which god hath ordered to be sette vp in the frame of our saluacion, fre wil, and fre choyse. And if fleynge from that inconuenience, which must nedes be fled, we shall go about to frame these postes of election and predestination, with the ioynte of (vndone) and because ye dare not call them done, cal thē vndone, that were euen as wysely done of vs, as if a mā wolde frame a tenaunte without a mortesse. For we can not say electiō and predestinatiō in god, as vndone, whiche were as muche to say as they be not, and then scripture sayth the contrary.

And yf we shuld say, the election and predestinacion of god is doyng, which is the thyrde mortes of that we can gesse at, it shulde signifie an imperfection in ẏ which were blaspheny to thinke in god, for goddes worckes be perfit, as him selfe is most perfit. In man who by participation of god, hath excellent giftes, we may se, that he that is cunnynge, doth at ones conceyue, and perfitlye comprehende either suche matter as he wyll

vtter

vtter in speache to the eare, or in any corporall demonstracion to the eye. The carpenter for example as he excelleth in cunnyng so doth he conceyue so much the more sodenly, and with a smal shorte thought represent to hym self all the hole fraime of that he wyl worke perfitely, which hath a longer tyme in vtterynge of it, and hath a distance of doinge whiles the carpenter draweth it in paper, & afterwarde a longer doyng, whiles he setteth it forth in the matter. But ỹ absolute acte in the craftes man, which was in the mathematicall representation, that is to say, deuided from corporall matter, that acte in the vnderstandynge had no doinge in any perceptible distance, but was past doing & perfited in a momente, in a very conning exercised man. Wherefore if we may thus thinke of an excellẽt craftes man in his doinges, and ioyne to the act a perfectiõ in a moment, it were an absurdite to thinke of god lesse excellencie, and call his acte yet doinge, whose actes be perfited with lesse then a thought, and can not be, but incontinẽtly perfit, in him that is all perfitenes it self. Here I looke ye wyll say thus, yf we agree herein, we must say further, that man can not thynke the election & predestinacion in god perfit, onlesse he thynketh them done, for that is perfit, that is done, or els if it be not done it is not perfyte. And afore I sayde, we may not thinke of them as done, so as by the same reason, we may not thynke of them as perfytte. Note well (reader) that I shall now

say

Man hath no meane to comprehende goddes secret actes.

saye, and consyder, howe muche goddes actes excede mans vnderstandyng in all actiõs of man, wether we call them done or perfyt, though they haue but an instante or a momente, for the doinge and perfection of them: yet there is in them all of those that be done, by the leste and shortest thought, thre thinges to be considered. A beginnynge of thacte, an ende of it, and a mouynge from the begynninge to thende. As for example, In the connynge crafftes man, in conceyuynge of the matter, he wyll speake or make in plat, or in a musician, that deuiseth with a marueilouse celeritie, the descant that he playeth vpõ his instrument, which is a wonderfull swiftnes and agilitie of the powers of the soule, in these actions there is none so shorte, so swift and fyne, but there is a begynnyng, and from that ende of begynnynge, a mouyng to thende of perfection, by which thre cõsiderations, we iudge of our actes as done and perfit. Nowe of god, we be learned to saye trulye, that before the worlde there is no begynnynge, as we vnderstand begynnyng, and so not the begynnynge ende of any acte. In god also there is no mouynge at all, for what so euer moueth is iudged therby imperfite, for mouyng declareth a want of that wherevnto it moueth, which in god can not be. In god also there is no ende at al. So as those thre, whereby we cõsyder done, vndone, doyng, and perfit amonge men, be clerelye taken away from our consideration in god, and yet for want of more perfite knowledge

The leste thought of ma hath thre partes.

and

and moze perfyt ſpeach, we be bolde to ſpeake of god with ſuch wozdes as we haue in our tonge, whereby we may not take further boldnes to go thzough, and meaſure gods actes either by our wozdes oz ymaginacion to be lyke ours. Foz in the begynnynge of the goſpell of ſaynt Johñ where ſaynt Johñ ſaith of the ſecond perſon the very wozde of god (In the begynnynge was the wozde) yf a man ſhulde haue the ſame ymagination of a begynnynge ſpoken of god as he hath of a begynnynge, when he ſpeaketh of the beginnynge of ſaynt Johñs goſpell, and becauſe the goſpell hath an ende to begyn at, that god hath alſo an ende to begynne at, foz ſo hath euerything that begynneth as man conceyueth it oz els there is not in our ymaginacion a begynnynge, we ſhuld gather by ſaynt Johñ that god is not eternall, becauſe he was in the begynning as the wozdes of ſaynt Johñ ſpeake playnelye to our ymaginacion, ſuch as our reaſon conceyueth, ſanſienge an ende to euery begynnynge whiche ende when we can not fynde, we ſay that thinge hath no begynninge, as a rounde circle in conſideration of it ſelfe hath no begynninge, becauſe it hath no diſtinction in one place moze then other to begynne at. And yet ſpeakynge of god without ende, we vſe the wozde (beginning) foz we haue none other wozde to ſpeake, and ſo lykewyſe of goddes knowledge, electiõ, and pzedeſtinaciõ, we ſpeake by ſuch wozdes as we haue ſignifienge them vnto vs as done and perfyt,

and so be they in dede, but not as oure actes be done, and perfyt, and therefore to be called past and perfyt whereby there shulde be in thaction a mouynge from the begynnynge to thende, but they be done, as god worketh wout tyme where is not past, and perfyt as god worketh most perfytlye, that is to say, in suche wysedome and perfect as mans reason can not comprehende, ne can therefore skyll to frame the doynge of them, with mans free wyll, and free choyse to be the cause of eche mannes owne dampnacio without iust murmure of the want of goddes election.

And therefore yt mans busye presumptuous wit coulde be content to let alone that is not lerned hym to knowe, but onely to worshyp and occupye him selfe, in that he is commaunded to do, he shulde no more trouble hym selfe herewith, then amonge masons, the hewers and squarers of stone trouble theyr mayster mason, to question with him howe suche and suche a molde appoynted them to worke after, aunswereth in the facinge, and wyll agree in the worke, amonge whome, because they haue conceyued a reuerent opinion of the mayster mason, confessynge their ignorance not to atteyne his high knowledge, euery man as is prescribed him worketh in silence somewhat leysurly (men say of masons) for their owne ease, but yet they worke, God whose wysedome is incomprehensible, whose knowledge is aboue all knowledge, and connynge aboue al cõnyng, hath traced the plat of the buyldynge of his

his church, and hath for a mould where after to
square the stones, sent our sauiour Christ into ỹ
world whom he hath willed vs to heare & folow,
beynge his very ymage and the manifestacion
of hys wyl, commaundynge all his stones to be
squared after that moulde, wherewith because
god for oure comforte telleth vs, that he hath
care of the squarynge of the stones, and therfore
hath before the begynnynge of the worlde chosẽ
& predestinate those that shalbe square stones,
we leaue worckyng and squaryng after ỹ mould
deliuered vnto vs which is commaunded, & fall
to questionynge and musynge, howe god wor-
keth him self his secret worke of election and pre
destinacion, without exclusion of our worke in
free choyse and free wyll, the inquisicion where-
of is forbiddẽ, as aboue our capacite. And ther-
fore saynt Augustyne sayd: Searche not who is
drawen if thou wylt not erre, and byddeth euery
man praye that he may be drawen, which imply-
eth in his iudgemente, howe that man maye be
yet chosen & be yet predestinate, as we can speake
of it, or elles why shulde he bydde him pray to be
drawen. And when we exhort men by examples
in the scripture to vertue, our speache cõteyneth
the same. And when s. Paule sayth, he suffreth
for the electes that they myght be saued, & saint
Peter exhorting men to make their election cer-
tayne by good workes, both these great apostels
do the church of god to vnderstand (in the buyl-
dynge wherof they haue ben two principall sto-

nes)that goddes election is so done by hym, as it importeth no necessitie in man but requireth a cõformitie in vs agreable for the same, which conformitie we can not haue but of god and yet not haupnge that, we can not be called truly chosen and predestinate. Saynt Paule to the Collossen. wryteth in this wyse. You that were sometyme abalienate & enemies in mind in euyll workes, nowe god hath reconciled you, in the bodye of his flesshe, by his death, ỹ he should bring you fourth holy without reproche & without blame, in his sight, so that you continue grounded and stable in fayth, ne be not moued from the hope of the gospell. Consider this text of the apostell which doth men reconciled, to vnderstande, that they must persever, continue, & not be removed from the hope of the gospell, signifieng that the reconciliacion of god, implieth no necessitie of continaũce, but they may swarue, they may fall, and therefore doth admonysshe them thereof. wherefore he wanted not depe knowledge, that sayed as scripture doth vs vnderstande, that Thomas predestinatus, joyninge those two wordes in the matter truly together, non potest damnari, for the deuyll can not take out of goddes hand that is his, and yet neuertheless disseuer the word with the matter of predestinatus, from Thomas, and speakynge of the same Thomas, we may say by scripture, Thomas potest damnari. For goddes predestination as a superiour cause doth not violentlye worke to the compulsion

ſion of the inferior cauſe. And god doth ſo worke in his knowledge, election, and predeſtinacion, and with ſuch ſecrecie, as we can not take anye ſuch knowledge of thactes of election and predeſtinacion applied to any man whereby to diſproue this ſayenge to any man perticularlye. Thou mayeſt be damned by thyne owne ſynne, and lykewiſe to euerye perticuler man. Thou maieſt be ſaued by gods mercy, be the one neuer ſo vertuouſe, at the tyme of my ſpeakynge, or the other, neuer ſo much a ſynner. But to whom ſo euer we may truly ioyne. predeſtinatus, we muſt ſay of that man non poteſt damnari. And albeit I ſhalbe iudged of ſome to entangle this matter more then needeth, yet writinge to learned and vnlerned I had rather abyde that checke then to preterimytte any thynge, that I thynke myght ſerue to the cleringe of ſuche notes as haue ben made of the ſcriptures by ſome of ſimplicitie, & ſome of crafte and miſcheif, wherewith to encõbre the truth of the catholique fayth, wherein to comprehend ſuche perſuaſion of god (as though he wrought in election and predeſtinacion neceſſarily) is a maruelouſe ſubuerſion of the hole, as I haue before ſayde, and yet the wordes of ſcripture be marked to ſound ſo, as when ſcripture ſpeaketh of the litle flocke to be by god ſpecially preſerued, and howe the electes can not periſſhe and god preſerueth his electe, with the induracion of Pharao, ỹ reproupng of noughty men, which truthes be moſt certaynlye true. For

Deus uerax est, and yet bicause it is euē as true, that omnis homo mendax, therfore as god can not fayle in his promysse, so man maye fayle in the receyuinge and reteynynge of that is promised, and also eche man may. And therfore the admonitions and exhortacions in scripture to eschewe fallyng, and to arise agayne, be fruitfully made to the electe, not so as thoughe Thomas electe, myght be dampned, for that is impossible, but so as (Thomas) speakynge of the same (Thomas) maye be dampned. Onely god worketh election and predestinacion, and onely god can ioyne them truely with Thomas or Johñ, mary Thomas and Johñ maye presume, and that waye playe the foole, to ioyne them selfes, by suche newe beleke as the deuyll by his postelles frameth nowe a dayes to election and predestinacion, and saye as one hath sayde to me, I knowe my selfe predestinate. I meruayle where he had lerned that lesson being yet quicke and quethynge and such one as myght fall. S. Austen, although he knewe the lesson very hard and wolde we shulde not searche, whome god drayweth and whome he drayweth not, yet in his worke (de predestinatione) he semeth to gyue a forme, to lerne predestinacion, sayeng. Discee excursu predestinacionem. &c. So as they that flye vice, and chose vertue, and runne in vertue gladlye, and ascende from vertue to vertue they may well be assured, that the profyt in vertue is by goddes helpe and grace, and when they are

Note that I say not, eche man shal but may.

in

in paymēt of the general tribute(for ſinne)which is corporall death,at which payment they maye ſaye, Curſum conſummaui, they maye then lyke good ſcoolers reioyce, in the knowledge of the leſſon of predeſtinacion and acknoweledge the election of god in them, with a certayne hope & expectacō of that is prepared for goddes electe, but whiles men be wauerynge in the ſee of this worlde before they be arryued in the hauen, of paſſage from this lyfe,ſuche talkers and reaſoners of goddes election and predeſtinacion, to perſuade neceſſite,do it not for any godly fruite, but for a worldely lewde policie,to exclude from ſinne,both ſhame and blame to the world,which twoo amonges manye, let and hyndre manye carnall pleaſures,and where neceſſitie is perſuaded,can not in dede haue place.For who is to be blamed,for that he can not eſchue:or who ſhuld be a ſhamed of that he can not auoyd:wherefore ſhulde ſaynt Paule excommunicate the Corinthian and blame hym for his fornicacō:or ſaynt Peter agaynſt Ananie and Saphira his wyfe gyue a ſentence of ſuch efficacie, as whereupon ſhulde folowe corporall death for lyenge, wherein they myght haue pleded,if neceſſitie had ben by the lernynge of theſe two chief apoſtelles approued,that they dyd as they were ordered and walked as perſonnes not choſen, but indurate, whither neceſſitie ledde them by god appointed. But the true teachyng of chriſtes church abhorreth neceſſitie, and yet worſhippeth for moſt certayn

The leſſō of predeſtinatiō in eche mā tyll he hath made an end of his courſe in runninge.

Neceſſite,excludith ſhame and blame.

tayne truthes, gdddes pꝛouidence, election, and
pꝛedestinacion, whereby we be taught that god
is auctoꝛ of all our helth, weith and saluaciō, the
circumstaunce of which woꝛkynge in god in his
election and pꝛedestinacion, although it be as
impossible foꝛ mans wyt to frame wᵭ our choyse
and free wyll, as to deuise howe a camell shulde
passe thꝛough the eye of an nedle, withoute ma-
kynge the nedles eye bygger oꝛ the camell lesse,
yet that is impossible foꝛ man, is not impossible
foꝛ god, And in that belefe we ought to acquite
our selfe, and not be ashamed to lerne and con-
fesse ignoꝛaunce in these high misteries, wherein
an arrogante pꝛoude curiouse wit should clerely
be put to silence, and yet neuertheless a sobꝛe
humble spirite by a deuout searche and consider-
acion may lerne somewhat, wherewith to re-
pꝛesse and subdue the temptaciōs of carnall rea-
son euer murmuringe to the cōtrarie. Foꝛ which
purpose all the holy fathers of the greke church,
and besides saynt Austen, other of the latten al-
so, haue reuerently spoken somewhat of lyght in
the matter of election and pꝛedestinacion by di-
stinctinge gods knowledge, from his election,
as the cause from the effect, and thus considered
of god, that god in his counseyle determininge
to create man, he sawe & knewe mans fall, which
knowledge coulde be no cause of the alteration
of his decree to create man, foꝛ then we shulde
graunte in god mutabilitie of his decree by his
knowledge, but therwith god decreed to repare

and

and restore that falle in man, and by the abundaunce of his goodnes, and by the renouacion of man in his redemption, to encrease mans felicite. In which renouacion of man, god choseth as he seeth in his diuine prouidence those that shall receyue and vse his gyftes accordynge to his wyl, and reproueth them that he seeth before wyl refuse them and worke their owne confusiō, and so predestinateth such as he hath chosen, by which order goddes knowledge is the cause of his election, goddes election the cause of his predestinatiō, predestinaciō the cause of callyng &c. After whiche declaration mans reason couldnot gather, that gods knowledge of that is to come, shulde more be the cause of that he knoweth before to come after, then mannes knowledge, to be the cause of that is past, which by goddes gift man knoweth with god. Herein god is not compared with man, but aūswer is made to the carnall reason, whiche men make amysse of god. Goddes knowledge they saye is infallible in all thinges that shalbe, and that is mooste true, but the infallibilitie is no kynd of cause, of ỹ thinge thereby so to be caused, to be, but onely an assuraunce that the thinge as it is knowen of god, shall so be. God is the cause of all causes, and in the creacion of all natures & recreacion of mans nature, by grace, hath ordered thinges to moue and worke by their immediate speciall causes, not all necessarilye, but some with interruption and some casuallye and principallye aboue all,

man, by free choyse of ꝑ is offred hym, by which excellent gyft man differeth frō other creatures. Nowe as god hath ordred the worlde, so he most perfytelye knoweth it, that is to saye, that is necessarie, euen so necessary, that is casuall, casual, that is of mannes free choyse, as wrought by mans free choyse. And euerye thynge as it is wrought, god knoweth it wrought, knowynge them as done by the inferiour causes, not ordeynge them so to be done by his prouidēce or infallible knowledge. Here reason spoorneth and sayth, god myght haue chaūged it, when he sawe it shulde so be, and not haue made man inclineable to fall, when he sawe he wolde fall before he made hym. Here is a homely talke of god. And hitherto men come, when they forget their reuerence, and ducty to god, to be so perte with god as to controll his workes. Nowe men be suffred to loke on gods secrecies, they wyll begyn to tell hym howe he myght haue done better. But yet he that thus replieth must fyrst confesse, that the knowledge of god although it be infallible, yet it is not the cause of all that is knowen, for in knowledge, god onely seeth moost perfitelye the workes of all natures, as they be, and mannes reason that wolde fynde faulte, can not consider goddes knowledge to be in priorite to gods decree, to create man, wherebye that knowledge as it folowed, and was no cause of it, so it coulde be no cause whye to alter it, and then carnal reason must be aunswered as in the lyke a carnall man

wolde

wolde iudge. A carpenter that determineth to make a house, and therin a dooze, yf he had therwith the gyft of pzophecie to knowe thinges to come, and so to se, that theues shoulde after go in at that dooze, and robbe the house, wolde ye cal in mannes reason the carpenter the cause of the robbery, because he made the house with a dooze at whiche dooze he sawe the theues shulde entre? If the carpenter were charged in reason therewith, and with his knowledge before, he wolde for him selfe say: I made a house whiche of conuenience to be a house, required a dooze, and therfore I made the dooze, not for the theues thabuse it, which I sawe wolde folow, but for the owner to well vse it, and then yf the carpenter dyd therwith before, byd the owner take hede of the daũger lyke to folowe, what can be sayde further to the carpenter, who myght reasonablye alledge yf he shulde haue made no dooze at all, he shulde not haue made a conuenient house, for without a dooze, it had not ben perfitely a house. Can any man further replye to this carpenter, onles a man wolde saye, that the carpenter was also after, the theefe hym selfe, as men wyll not feare to saye of god blasphemouslye, that he is thauctor of euyll. Nowe if carnall reason must nedes admytte this in the carpenter: whye shoulde the same reason spurne agaynste god to make hym the cause, because when he sawe howe man wold abuse free wyll which he gaue hym, that yet god gaue it hym where the deuyll entred, as at the

doꝛe, and robbed hym. God gaue man that excellent gyfte of fre wyll foꝛ an oꝛnamente and a conuenient vſe, and admonyſhed man to beware of the miſuſinge of it to diſobedience, giuinge a lawe to be obſerued, as matter wherein to exercyſe his free wyll. If god had made man without free wyl and immutable, he had not ben then pꝛoperlye man, hauynge mutabilitie to good & cupll as a difference from god, a body coꝛpoꝛall to differre from angels, and free wyll and free choyce, to differre from other beaſtes vnreaſonable. And is not he a foylye woꝛkeman that wolde deuiſe to haue god done, otherwyſe then he hath, oꝛ elles becauſe malyce haue wꝛought in man malyce, wolde take god foꝛ immediate cauſe of all that is done, which were abhominable blaſphemouſe abhomination withoute all reaſon, and agaynſt all lerninge? God is the ſuperioꝛ cauſe, without which nothinge woꝛketh, as lerned mē haue diſcuſſed it, *in actu ſubſtracto*, but mans free choyce, and the deuyll adde the myſchief to euerye acte where any is, and be the immediate cauſes thereof, who although they haue god authoꝛ of their beynge, yet he is not authoꝛ of their noughtines, whiche is cauſed by their coꝛruption engendꝛed in them by their fall from god. And thus thou ſeeſt good reader that yf reaſon ſhulde contende with reaſon in diſcuſſion of goddes woꝛkes, neceſſite ſhoulde be excluded, and not implyed in goddes pꝛouydence, election, oꝛ pꝛedeſtinacion. Foꝛ god, Quos pre-

Synne is of man and the deuyll, and cā not be of god who is all goodnes.

ſciuit

sciuit predestinauit, of whiche worde (presciuit) the holly fathers learned men and deuoutelye learned as afore, haue noted goddes election to be accordynge to his knowledge, of them who should receyue and reteyne with perseueraunce goddes gyftes. Wary saynt Austen troubled with the pelagians, who for confirmatiõ of their erroz searched out places of scripture, and wrythed them violently as heretiques alwayes do, to their purpose so extollynge mans endeuor, as they dyd iniurye to the speciall grace & gyftes of god, for auoydinge thencombre of these subtyll heretiques, thought not necessarie to folowe the rest in that poynte, whereby to note the cause of goddes election to be any wyse referred to thendeuour of man but only to be in gods wil, which is most iust, & wherein is no acception of persõs. And yet saynt Austine doth not so dissent from the other fathers for auoydinge the pelagians as he doth any thynge fauour thopinion of thẽ, who nowe a dayes by vnderstandinge of those actes of election and predestinaciõ in god wolde establisshe mere necessitie. And as for my selfe myndinge to speake of this matter. Forasmuche as I haue sene saint Austen in this point dissẽt frome other, not wt cõtencion but rather therby to exclude ỹ matter of argumẽt that might serue the Pelagiãs: I haue not made fundaciõ to discusse thelection & predestinaciõ of god after those deuoute mens consideration but by declarynge what blyndnes men haue in goddes worckinge

Saynte Augustine in cõsideration of goddes election, agreeth not throughly with other

Saynte Austyne abhorreth necessitie

Occasion taken of a disagremente in summe part, to contemne all.

to put men in remembraunce to worshyppe that truth and confesse our ignoraunce. But somewhat wyll here be gathered by the waye, that mē dissente frome men, doctours from doctours, fathers from fathers, and why shuld we thē (sayth your sect) regarde men, doctours, or fathers, but all resorte to the very fountayne of gods worde, and thence fetche pure, sincere, clene, vndefiled water, and not to resorte to mennes puddelles that be myerie, troubled and not clene. If saynt Austen dare disagre from the rest why may not I disagre from him (& your) and from the rest also, and cleaue onely to gods worde? Gods worde is the lyke, and whither shuld we go but thither, and there is playnes. God sayth he is omnipotente, and he sayth trulye: He sayth he knoweth all, and he sayth trulye. He sayth he worketh all in al, and he sayth trulye. He sayth I haue made the wycked to the euyl daye, and he sayth truly. He sayth there is none euyll in the citie but he hath made, & he sayth trulye. God sayth he hath indurate the harte of pharao. And he sayth trulye. And alway god sayth truelye: And all men be lyers as Dauid sayth. Filij hominum vsquequo diligitis uanitatem et queritis mendacium? ye chyldren of men ye loue continually vanitie & searche out lyes. Hereunto I wyl say somewhat, that of god here be rehersed many truthes, and as they be spoken trulye. And yf they were also truely vnderstanded, then al were wel & playne. And they say men be lyers, therein they saye also trulye.

In answer.

truely. But yf [illegible] the scripture affirming men to be lyers shulde be also perpetuallye vereffied in them [illegible] whom god enducth with his giftes of truth and lerninge, that vnderstandyng wold serue to wype out all, but that is not the sence of that scripture, wherein is declared what man is destitute of god, and lefte to hym selfe, shames corrupt nature, not illuminate, nor directed by goddes grace, deliteth in vayne thinges, erreth, wandereth, loueth fansies, and seketh that hath no substaunce or beinge in it selfe, and is therefore vayne, and counterfayt, and so alye. All wisdome, all truth, al vertue, is of god, and without god man is blynded with vanities and lyes, but our sauiour christ hath for our sake ouercome ỹ deuyll, destroyed death, risen for our iustificacion, and ascendinge into heauen hath geuen gyftes to men and sent the spirite of truthe to be amonges vs, whereby man is able to knowe the truthe, confesse it, and vtter it, to the edification of other, agaynst which sort of men the scripture is alleged out of purpose to say he is a lyer because he is a man. And herein those that so improue al men generally they forget that thé selfe that so speake be men also, and then by the generall reproofe of men in their mouth they proue them selfe to lye, and if that be so, then that other men saye is truth speakynge contrarye to them and thus the matter is brought in a circle to a cõfusion by a sophisticall speache called (mencions) by eche mans mistruste to an other, and eche one ther-

Men be all inclined to lye but do not in all thynges lye, saynt Peter lyed not confessynge, tu es filius dei viui.

Mentiens, is the name of a sophisme called in greke ψεῦδόμενον, when one parte of the speach destroyeth an other of the same speach.

therefore callinge an other lyer. For if I wyll improue the doctrine of them that haue written because some dissent from them, how shuld any newe man require him selfe to be beleued dissentynge from them also, mary no (sayth the Anabaptist) and beleue not me without I bringe scripture. Nor beleue not me sayth the sacramētarie without I bringe scripture. Beleuenot me sayth the Arriane without I bringe scripture. Beleue not me sayeth Ioye without I bryuge scripture. There was neuer heretique but bosted scripture, as all the Iewes bosted Abraham for theyr father, and scripture by goddes sufferaunce is subiecte to mannes peruersitie, and is to good men, Odor uite ad uitā, and to euyll men, Odor mortis ad mortem. Scripture is a swete pure flower, whereof spiders gather poyson and bees hony. As thou arte that cryest for scripture, so shalt thou gather of scripture. Go thyther instructed with holsome doctrine, and there thou shalt se it confirmed. Go thither infecte with maliciouse opinions and there thou shalt withe out matter, wherwith to maynteine them. And so the deuyll dyd when he tempted Christ, thence he fetched his armour wherwith to fight with Christ. And so do all heretiques to fyght with the churche. As for the dissention betwene the fathers of the churche in exposicions of scriptures hath not arisen of purpose to impugne any true catholyke doctryne, but for defence of that hath ben impugned by malicious

Who flyeth most busely to scripture.

Scripture of it selfe all truth.

heretiques

heretiques. Amonge symple deuoute men eche
terte semed to beare witnes to euerye truth, and
where good men with good men entreated the
matter so the conclusion were catholyke & true,
they semed not ouer curious to searche out the
propre textes for cõfirmacion of that they affir-
med, not for necligence, but for declaracion of
the perfite beleue in the matter, whiche when it
beganne to be impugned of euyll men, good me
for defence of truthe, were fayne so to consyder
what they sayde or graunted as they gaue ther-
by none aduauntage to thaduersarie who stu-
dieth onely to inuade and violate the truthe.
Saynte Austen in contencion with the Man-
ches was very precyse for free wyll whiche they
impugned, and with the Pelagians was precise
in defence of grace, whiche they impugned, and
for defence of the truth, which he sawe brought
in daunger, fought with scriptures lyke a stout
champion, as Dauyd with his stones to ouer-
throwe Golias, wherin howe so euer saynt Au-
sten dissented from the rest, it is not to be accõp-
ted as a disagremente in any truth necessarye
for our edification, but as the feate of a wyse
warriar for defence of truth to eschue such occa-
sion as noughtie men wolde gather for the sub-
uersion of the truth. And in this wyse good men
lerned, may humbly disagre with a deuout intẽt
to defende the truth, which we ought not so per-
uersly to take as though all suche good mennes
labors and trauayles in theexposicion of scrip-

The simplicite of tholde fathers not striuing with heretiques.

were to be contempned, and as though eche man by hym selfe alone coulde vnderstande and expounde scriptures in the true sense, whiche assueracion howe true it is the prodigiouse and monstruouse opinions which haue ben, and be at this day, gathered of scriptures do declare, wherin as god dyd in the buyldyng of ꝑ towre of Babylon, to depresse that arrogãt enterprise, confounde the vnderstandynge in one tunge, & deuided it into many: So in this tyme whẽ eche man, w a gaye pretence of resortyng to the scriptures, and to the foũtayne, without the teaching and instruction of other catholique men, do arrogantlye interpryse to buyld thẽ selfe a knowledge to reache to gods secretes, one catholique fayth is deuided into as many sundry opinions and persuasions, as was the one tunge at the buyldynge of the towre of Babell, into diuerse languages. And therefore we must remembre, although scripture be the foundacion & ground of all truth, yet it is darke and obscure to senses vnexercised, and god geueth not al, the spirite of prophecie, & yet god hath geuen it in his church to many who haue left it testified in their labors, not so as sometyme they shewe not them selfes as men, and to speake of them self (and therefore must be so warely and yet reuerently redde) but so as their consonaunce and agreement together in the matter of doctrine where they agre, may leade vs to consider the more certaynly the truth in scripture, and those good men not vpon eue-

Confusiõ of vnderstãding with multitude of diuerse straũge opinions.

rye alteration one from an other to be reiect or
contemned of vs as lyers, as men wolde nowe a
dayes haue it, bearing euery man in hande that
he maye (so he vnderstande englysh) lerne hym
selfe alone, whiche is the deuylles persuasion to
sperele that is gathered, and where we be a con-
gregacion to make eche man wander from his
felowe, and eche man onely to beleue him selfe.
And therevpon to folowe, as you mayster Joye
teach afterward to be sayd to eche man, As ꝑ be-
leuest so be it to the, and so the church to be in no
place a church as any politique body, neyther ꝑ
church of England, ne the church of Fraũce to be
vnite wtin theim selfes in gouernement, & where
vnto by scripture mens desperate faultes shulde
be tould neither in the hole to be vnite in sacra-
mentes, and true doctryne, but eche one man to
be a church alone, and therefore eche one man to
fast alone (if he fast at all) wout dayes appoyn-
ted for ꝑ hole body to fast together. Eche one mã
to pray alone (if he prayeth at al) without dayes
or houres, appoynted for the hole body to praye
together, and so al to be alone, alone, alone, mine
owne selfe al alone. And then to be deuoured of
the deuyll alone, without comfort in wyldernes
alone, and so singe vp the free mannes songe
of alone, whyles we be here, as thoughe there
were none other lyfe after this, for thitherto wyl
reforte the issue of the fore, when eche man pre-
sumptuously geueth hym selfe alone an vnder-
standinge of goddes scriptures, and cõtẽpninge

Note well the inconue-nience of a-lone.

that other men deuoute and lerned haue writtē,
truſt to their owne ſenſe contrarye to the wyſe
mannes aduertiſement, or rather luſteipe ſo to
boſt forth for knowledge that they lyke to ſaye
they knowe becauſe they wolde in dede haue it
Obſtinacy in preſumpyon of knowlege. ſo taken whether it be ſo or no. And ſuche men,
what ſo euer is ſayd to the contrarie of that they
ones ſay they knowe, eyther they make a lyppe
at it, or ẏlde with ſilence to ſeme to gyue place
to auctozitie for the tyme, or yf they dare ſpeake,
lay their hande on their breſt, and ſay they ſpake
as theyr conſcience ſerueth them, or tell howe
they haue prayed for grace and can not beleue
the contrarye, ſome lyfte vp theyr eyes & wyſſhe
that the truth may ſpreade abrode that hath ben
longe hydden. And thus as they wolde haue it,
they wyll haue it, & be clerely deefe to any other
teachynge. And therefore as I haue reherced af-
ter contempe of therpoſicions of other, they ſaye
goddes wordes be playne to proue mere neceſſi-
tie, and yet they myght ſaye otherwyſe and they
wolde for any neceſſitie ẏ forceth them ſo to ſay,
for the ſcriptures, they bryngē in, enforceth them
not at all, and that they knowe well ynoughe, &
myght therfore in the predeſtinacion and electiō
of god cōfeſſe with me, ignorannce, yf they lyſted
ſo to do. For of my ſelfe, I ſhall ſaye thus, what
ſoeuer opinion men wold for their purpoſe haue
perſuaded of me abrode that I ſhuld vſe carnall
wytte and ſophiſtrie in thentreatynge of ſcrip-
tures, I proteſt openlye and take god to record,
that

that I neuer yet durst be so bolde, to gather any sense of ỹ scripture, but such as I had redde gathered all redy in good authors, whose spirite, I durst better trust, then myne owne. I knowe ledge and confesse myne owne pouertie therein. I knowe none opinion of myne owne fyndynge in scripture, and what so euer gyfte other haue, scripture is to me ouer darke, to vnderstande it alone, without the teachynge of other, suche as haue lefte their labours therin, in writynge behynde them. Of whom togither with the scriptures I haue lerned, to speake of predestinacion as I haue written, & of iustification thus: That god onely iustifieth man, accordyng to the scripture before alledged, Quos uocauit, iustificauit. & in an other place, Deus iustificat. And herein the worlde maketh no controuersie. A controuersie there is, howe god worketh this iustification in man, whether to iustifie man, he gyueth hym, one gyfte of fayth, or two giftes of fayth & charitie. And in this controuersie, one thinge is verye peruerse, that those which say that god iustifieth man, with one gyfte of fayth onelye, wyll be seene more to extoll god in his fauoure vnto man, then they that say god geueth three gyftes in the iustification of man. And because ỹ worde (onely) that hath and doth maynteine much bablynge, hath ben ioyned by them: to fayth, to say that onely fayth iustifieth, to defende that, they trouble the people with a fyne distinction of offices, and say that in iustificacion of man, it is

the onely office of fayth to iustifie, and charitie and hope, there waytynge without office whiles the man be iustified. And so (onely) is nowe shifted from fayth to the office of fayth. And these be they that accuse other men of darkenesse. But the scripture telleth me that he who loueth not remayneth in death. And therfore if the state of a iustified mā, be lyfe in Chryst: Charitie, which is godlye loue hath as well her offyce, in iustificacion, to gyue lyfe, as fayth hath her offyce to be in knowledge the moost certeyne grounde & foundacion of it, and hope her offyce to be placed and established vpon them both. In receyuynge of which gyftes howe man worketh by gods callynge, to turne to hym, and vse that is offred of hym, accordynge to theyr effectes: I shall speake after at large, aunsweryngе you mayster Joye, who semeth so to terme suche workes, as I say man doth to atteyne iustification, as thoughe I ment daye workes, or weeke workes, and eyther not knowynge in deade, what I mente with Barnes, in workes before iustificacion, and to thatteynynge of it: or elles dissemblynge your knoweledge, to engendre matter of skoffynge, ye triumphe of me at your pleasure, whiche I shal preterimit, and somwhat open, of what force your matter is, ẏ ye violently writhe out of scripture. And fyrst ye bring in ẏ yf Wyn. hath done all that god hath cōmaunded hym, he is but a seruaunt vnprofitable. And this text of scripture ye bryng in to diminish the estimacion

A prety shift from onelye fayth iustifieth, to fayth onely iustifieth, and a narowe difference to the rude reader.

of

of good workes. And thus gods holly scripture is prophaned by you, that wold be sene to vtter only that the spirite of god telleth you, with such a mere sincerite, ẏ it hath nether hony nor waxe. For this text of scripture is writtē to admonish vs what a good lorde we serue of god, who hauynge no commodite or profyt by our seruyce, doth neuerthelesse alowe and commend our seruice. So differeth ẏ seruice of god & the deuyll, the seruice of god frō the seruice of man. For the state of a seruaūt among men is to do their maisters profit, & not theyr owne, forsomuch as they be seruaūtes. And therefore to an euil seruaūt it is sayd cōmonly as a rebuke. Thou art a leude seruaūt, ẏ sekest thine owne gaine & not thy masters. But in the seruice of god, suche as be seruauntes professe opēly, & truly affirme, that they be vnprofitable to theyr lord god, as the text by you brought in testifieth, who nedeth no seruice of vs, ne can not be increased or diminished by profit or lacke of our seruice. And yet he hath so much care of our welth, that albeit our seruice is not profitable to him, yet he cōmēdeth it because it is profitable to vs, & therfore sayeth to a good seruaunte, Euge. Wel sayde seruaunt that arte good and faythfull, because thou art faythful in a fewe, I shall appoynte the, ouer more. And moreouer declarynge howe our seruice is profitable to our selfe he byddeth vs, yf we wyll entre into lyfe, to kepe the commaundementes. And so that scripture ẏ is written to teach vs one thing

An expositiō of the scripture, that we be seruaūtes vnprofitable

ye,

ye bryng it in for an other. Bycause god putteth vs in remẽbraũce of the nature of our seruyce to him ẏ he hath no profyte by it, whereby we shuld knowlege his gratuite & goodnes to be so moch the more towardes vs, ye wold we shuld take it, that god careth not for our worke in his seruice, and yet we be deliuered (as the prophete sayeth) from the handes of enemies, to serue him in sanctite & holynes all dayes of our lyfe. The grekes by a grosse prouerbe, wolde put men in remembraunce what incõuenience foloweth of thabuse of good thinges out of their place, saieng of him that so dyd abuse his necessaries, how he opened his locke with his hatchet, and cleued his woode with his keye. And after this sort the scriptures be brought in by you, and other of your sect, all out of purpose they were writtẽ for. And yet whẽ some so do, then they boste moste, that they bryng nothinge but scripture, and the worde of god, & the mere truth, playne speache, symple language without iugglynge, sophistrie or mannes traditions. And when all commeth to al, for so muche they bringe a truth in dede, but to a wronge purpose, as is a hatchet to open the locke, which can do but burst it, and yet can not be denied but it is a good hatchet, and good to cleue wood. And sometyme agayn the scripture they bryng in, is euen as dull (to the purpose it is brought in for) as is a keye to cleue woode. After which sort predestination, beynge signified vnto vs, for oure comforte, to declare what care god hath of vs,

A grosse prouerbe of the grekes.

whereby

whereby we shoulde be the more encouraged to worke hauynge god to our helpe, the same is vsed as an hatchet to open the locke, whereby the lesse to care for our workes, vpon pretense that god hath done all. And lykewyse in many other partes of scripture, if I wolde tarye to reherse them. But nowe I wyll returne to you mayster Joye, and where ye appose me whether when I considered the effecte of Christes passion, I beleued it or no? I professe, I beleued it. Then ye aske whether I beleued it to be effectuall to me? To this I aunswer you, that fyrst I beleued it was and is effectual to me in my baptisme, wherin I obteyned remission of synnes, & renouacion of lyke. I haue beleued, and beleue it also effectuall vnto me, in the sacrament of penaunce, wherby to recouer the state of grace, from whiche syth the tyme of my baptisme, I haue dyuerse tymes fallen by synne. And lykewyse I haue beleued and beleue that in the vse of all the other sacramentes, as it hath pleased god to ordeyne them, Christes passiō is effectuall by the worke of God in thē, to conferre grace vnto vs. And generallye I haue and do beleue the passion of christ to be effectual vnto me, whē so euer and as often as I by the grace of God, purchased by the same passion, do vse my selfe in fulfyllynge of goddes wyll, as the scriptures & the true vnderstandynge of them, teache me, the obseruacion of which teachynge, ye may call & it please you (and ye wyll nedes make me thau-

An aunswer to Joyes examinacion of my beleefe.

thoz, which I haue not hitherto taken vpon me) Wynchesters condicion. And therfoze Wynchester sayth that bicause scripture doth require of a chzysten man, that he be baptised whereby to be incozpozate into Chzyste, & beynge partaker of his death and resurrection, obteyneth remyssion of synne, and is bozne agayne of water and the holy ghoste, Wyncheſter sayeth as scripture teacheth hym, that Baptizetur unusquisq; in remissionem peccatorum. And this is one of Wynchesters wozkes, and implyed in his condicyon, that ye wonder so muche at, and calle so darke and confuse. And generallye when Chzyste sayeth: Come to me, ye that be charged with synne and I shall refresshe you, my teachinge is as scripture enfourmeth me, that he that is called, muste do so muche as goo, when he is called, with the helpe of the caller, withoute whyche he can not goo. And this is also one of Wynchesters wozkes. And when God sayeth, beleue, I muste beleue. And this is a nother of Wynchesters wozkes. And when God sayeth, loue, and gyueth the gyfte of it: I muste loue, oz elles remayne in deathe. And this is a nother of Wynchesters wozkes. And all these wozkes whyche seme a greate heape of wozkes, be conteyned in the condycyon that muste be fulfylled foz obteynynge the effecte of Chzystes passyon, beynge remyssyon of synne, and a newe state of lyfe.

An attempte of suche wozkes as I mēt required to attayne iustification

And

And thus I haue tolde you playnelye my
faythe, and also the woꝛkes I meane of, be-
foꝛe iustyfycation, and lykewyse the condycion
whyche ye call so confuse and blynde. And
thus I taughte Barnes, and otherwyse then
thus (whiche is the catholique beleke) I thanke
God I haue not beleued, noꝛ I dare not be
so bolde (as ye be) to frame my selfe anye o-
ther pꝛyuate beleue, vpon confydence of the
texte of scꝛypture ye bꝛynge, whiche is lyke
a keye to cleue a logge: As thou beleueste so
comme it to the. Chꝛyste spake these woꝛ-
des to Centuryo, allowynge his faythe so
muche, as he sayde he founde not so greate
faythe in Israell. And it is a ioye to see
howe wyselye ye wyll applye this to all men
howe so euer they haue conceyued their fayth
whether it be catholyque oꝛ no. And then
the Arryane maye be saued by his faythe, and
the Sabellyan by hys faythe, the Marcyo-
nyste by hys faythe, the Mahometane by
hys faythe, the Lutherane by his fayth, the
Swynglyan by hys faythe, and Ioye by his
faythe. Foꝛ thys texte serueth all. As thou
beleueste so be it to the. And yf anye bele-
ued that Glottonye were no synne: As thou
beleueste so be it to the. And it is as fonde that
ye bꝛynge in of Iairus, and maketh nothyng to
the purpose ye bꝛynge it foꝛ. Foꝛ albeit the fayth
of myꝛacles were alone with the faythe of sal-

Scripture fō
delye allegid
by Ioye.

uacion, whiche your authors abhorre because Christe sayde to Jairus beleue onelye, do that proue that Christe requireth no more of none other whereby to attayne saluation? Eche man must do after the tyme of his callyng, as the parable teacheth. And he that is called at. viii. of the clocke, may not stande ydle tyll eleuen, and fall to worke then, to make a shorte ende, as some do, that fasshion them selfe to vse the pleasures of the worlde so longe as their bodies maye sustayne, with mynde to serue god when they can not tell els what to do. Such men searche scripture to knowe who hath done lest, that they may do as lytle as he. And if they that be gyuē to stelynge, wolde studye in scripture the mercye shewed to the theefe hanginge on the crosse, to thintent they myght haue lesse care for theyr lyfe in the meane season: were not suche lernyng fruteles and perniciouse to the common welth? And after like sorte doth Joye handle the scriptures, and goeth about with his hatchet to open the locke, and with his keye to cleue logges. Joye bringeth in another miracle of Christe, wherein Christe sayed. Thy fayth hath saued the. And here Joy sayeth is no condicion but fayth. To this I saye that this is not al the scripture, and he that wyll truly iudge of scripture, he muste ioyne all together. For that is not spoken in one parte of scripture, is spoken in another, and all at the laste must make one worde. That is in some parte of scripture attributed to fayth (as in this

Al scripture is but one worde in sense without al repugnaunce.

this miracle) is in a nother parte attribute to charite, as when chriſt ſayd. Dimiſſa ſunt ei peccata multa, quia dilexit multum. And in a nother place, to hope, as Spe ſalui ſumus, we be ſaued by hope. And we muſte omit no parte of the truthe, but ſo vnderſtande one, as all may be comprehẽded. And here I note vnto the (reader) this maner of ſpeache in ſcripture. Thy fayth hath ſaued the, without mencion of Chriſtes paſſion, & without mentiõ of god, as though a man might arrogantly ſay: I haue ſaued my ſelfe, my fayth hath ſaued me, whereby euery man might be noted his owne ſauiour. But this were blaſphemouſe ſophiſtrie, euen ſuche as men vſe nowe a dayes, when they wyll impugne ſuche deuoute ſpeaches as hath ben vſed in the churche, when eche man exhorteth other to ſaue his own ſoule, or deſireth an other to ſaue his neyghbors ſoule, or els moueth his frende by almeſſe, prayer, faſtynge, and good deades, to worke the welth of his ſoule. All whiche ſaluacions, and workes of ſaluation, good and deuout men, vnderſtand to be done (as in dede they can not be done otherwyſe) by the merites of Chriſtes paſſion, and the gyfte of god. And yet theſe beaſtes that put no difference betwene a key and a hatchet, diffame the ſpeache, as though ſuche men fanſyed workes of them ſelfes without god, or thought the paſſion of Chriſte not ſufficient, when in dede it is ment in ſuche workes onely to vſe the benefites of Chriſtes paſſion without preſumption to

adde or supplye any thinge to the same, whiche were a fonde folysshe, wycked, and arrogante blasphemye. And in this matter I speake so muche, because these ydle talkers wolde discourage vertuouse disposed doers by such malitouse reporte & sclaunder of theyr good doynges. After your leude diuinitie, ye fall to fonde polycy, and aske whether it be more profitable to take forgyuenes of synnes without condicion, or tarye whyles the condicion were fulfylled. Whiche queſtion is so fondelye conceyued, that I wyll aunswere meryly vnto it, as the prentyce of London did his mayster before the wardens of the crafte, vpon complaynte made that the mayster was ouer strete to the prentyce in his dicte. Why sonne (qꝓ the mayster to his prentyce in the wardens hearynge) is not colde mutton good meate? is not colde beake good meate? colde capon good meate? and sometyme a colde pye. Lo (qꝓ the mayster to the warden) hath not my prentyce good cause to complayne? The warden checked the prentyce, and sayde he was deyntye that wolde complayne of so good fare. Wherevnto the prentyce sayde that his mayster hadde spoken of muche good meate yf a manne coulde haue it. And so your masshyppe hathe sayde truelye, that a man were better, yf anye thynge coulde be better then God hath ordayned it to take remyssyō of synne withoute anye condycyon, for then wythoute anye endeuoure, all shoulde haue it. But

A fashyon of answer mete for Joye.

howe

howe shall we haue it so, when God putteth a condycyon to it? We muste take goddes benefyte as it is offered, and not as we wou!de haue it. Ye talke of wisshynge as myghte satysfye youre appetyte, and not as god hathe ordeyned and declared hys wyll. And yet as thoughe ye hadde clerklye and substauncyallye handeled the matter, ye procede to your tryumphe, with, nowe say on yet agayne Wynchester, and then it followeth in youre boke.

Ergo by the gift of god I maye do well before I am iustifyed. Vvin.iiii article

Ye mary, this is the conclusion I waited for. Lo, nowe hath he concluded of him selfe, that he maye do well before he be iustyfyed. This his well doinge standeth vpon the fulfyllynge of his condycyon, where ye see he hath his fayth and his workes and yet is he not iustifyed, ergo in that same tyme before he is iustyfyed is he not iustyfyed by fayth nor by hys workes Here ye se playnelye into what confusyon he bringith hym selfe, and what it is to reason by his own witte withowte anye worde of scrypture. Wolde God the pappistes hadde no wyser diuines to defende theyr false relygyon, selden are these poppishe lawers good dyuines. He saith he maye do well, and I saye he maye do euyll to. It becōmeth a lerned mā so to cōferre the scriptures trewly vnderstāden that he be sewer and certayn of his conclusyon. But perchaunce he take this worde May, for the mery moneth of May nexte Apryl, and then am I content to tary tyll May come agayne for the verifyenge of his conclusyon waityng for his well doyng, for hytherto (god knoweth) he hath done muche euyll. The lorde amende hym before Maye, or elles take hym shortely Ioye

shortly awaye Amen. Bycause Win. hath no scripture to proue his conclusyon, I wyll helpe hym, but yet I commende Standish agenst Doctor Barnes, for he layd on scriptures wryten and vnwryten, englyshed and vnenglyshed as thicke as hayle, & vnderstode not one word what he sayd, euen the very doctours paynted of Paul to haue erred from the trewe faith and loue, & are swaruen vnto vayne lyes, whiche wolde be sene Doctours of the lawe and yet vnderstande they not what they saye nor of what thyng they affirme. But to Win. conclusyō, Thou knowest good reader, that in scripture there is mēcioned a dead faith & a fayned or false faith. And also there is a rightwisnes of ẏ law or our rightuisnes & also a like iustificatiō, one of faith before god, & an other of workes before mē. Whē Paul had myghtely proued only fayth to haue iustified before God, the Iewe not beynge cōtent wt this cōclusiō obiected sayeng. What then shal we saye of our father Abraham? Gote he no iustificacion by his workes? he was a good father & dyd many good dedes. It is trweth saith Paule, but yet hath he not to reioyce therof before god, but onely before men. Now let vs set vp my Lord Gardyner in his Veluets and Satyn alofte vpon his mule trapped with veluet with gylden sterups and brydle &c. with his ientle men bare head chayned with golde, before and after hym. Who wyll not saye but there rydeth a princely prelate a gloriouse Byshop to orne and honor an hole realme? See what a clenly sorte of tall men he hath aboute hym, what costely liueries geueth he, what a mayny of idle belies dayly fedeth he. Hath not Winch. lo, wherof to glorye before men? is not this a ioyly iustification? Nowe foloweth his conclusion of hym selfe sayenge, ergo by the gyfte of god, that is by these worldly gyftes I maye do well before worldly men of flesshely iugemēt before I be iustified before God, yet iustifyed gloryously (in which I reioyce) before men. This is his Iewisshe iustification whereof the Pharisais so hyghly reioyced, in so much that Christ told them that he came not to call sich iust men, but synners to repentaunce, warnyng the people that excepte theyr rightwysnes abounded aboue the pharisais good dedes, they shulde neuer come to heuen. And Paul, saith that men ignorant of the ryghtwisnes

or

or ryghtwisemakynge of god, and sekynge to set saste (as nowe doth Winchester.) their owne rightwisnes, they be neuer subiecte to the ryghtwisnes of god. Winchester yet knoweth not the office of the lawe, to shewe vs our synnes, to worke wrath, to make synne the more to abound as Paul proueth it to the Romayns, so farre of must it be to iustify. Neyther yet knoweth he the office and proper place of fayth nor yet what thynge fayth is, but conceyueth a certayne fantasticall opinion therof as doth euery speculatyue pharisay and idle hypocrite. And a man shulde speke after the very order of nature & of the tyme, he must nedes set faith before workes, as is the tree before it bloweth and the blomes before the frupte. The seade is caste into the erthe before it groweth and fructifieth. The seed is the worde of god saith Christe. And nygh vnto the is the worde of faith euen in thyne herte and mouth. Fayth is effectuous & worketh by loue. And the ende of the precept is loue out of a pure herte (by faith heptes are made pure sayth Peter) and a good cõscience & of fayth vnfayned. I thinke Winch. is not so ignorant in his Gramer as to englysche this texte of Paule. Fides que operatur per dilectionem, as dyd John fysher the bysshop of Rochester in his sermon at Pauls crosse afterwirde pryuted, thus englysshed, fayth which is wrought by charite: so settyng the carte before the horse & lyke an vngodly gardener to peruerte and turne the rotes of his plantes and herbes vpward, of which I herde as it were an olde prophecie. xl. yeres agoo that sich an Antechryst shuld come to peruerte the iustification of fayth and turne Christes religion vpsedown. I am sewre he wyll not set workes before faith, no not in the youge baptized infantes, nor yet in Paule at his conuersion, nor in the theefe hangynge by Christe crucified. It is treweth that workes being the frutes of fayth standinge in their owne place procedinge oute of fayth iustifienge, diminish not the effecte of Christes passiõ. For we are made in Christ Jesu to do the good workes which God hath prepared that we shulde walke in them. We are saued freely by fayth saith Paule, yea and that not of workes, for it is the gyfte of god, that we be saued by faith, and not for our works lest any man shuld reioyce in his owne dedis. But if Wyuch. put his workes

in the place and office of fayth, as the condicion without the which no mā is iustified, so diminisheth he, yea he is iniurious and blasphemous vnto the effecte of christes passion, for by this doctrine his diminute imperfect and wyked workes shuld destrue vs forgeuenes of sinnes as thoughe christes bloude and so plenteouse a redempcion in Christe were not sufficiente. If by the law sayth Paule men be made ryghtwyse, so is Christe dead in vayne. Loue must fulfyll the condicion (sayth he) ergo the workes of the law are his condicion. Ro. 13. Now let vs se what loue god asketh of vs, for if we haue not that loue, we shall neuer fulfyll Wynch. condicion. God commaundeth vs to loue him with our hole hartes, mindes, soules, and with all our strength, & our neighbours ye and our enemies to, as our selues, yea and that euen as Christ loued vs whiche dyed for vs beynge his enemies. He byddeth vs to be perfit and holy as him selfe is, not to be so angrye with our brother as to prouoke hym with any euyll worde to anger, nor to desyre anye other mans good, seruaunt wife. &c. no not to loue oure owne liues in his cause, but to hate our flesshy & dye for his sake. Nowe tell me Wynch. yf anye one man hath this loue, and so fulfylled your condicion? or els dare your selfe affirme to haue fulfylled it? yf ye haue not, ergo by your owne wordes ye shall neuer enioy the effecte of Christes passion (and yet speke I not of the perfit faith and hope that euery man, in God is bounde to haue: beware therefore Wyn. howe ye set your saluacion vpon so harde a condicion, lest ye come to shorte of the gates shuttynge with your .v. folysshe virgens. If you hadde once fulfylled (as you neuer shall) your condicion, and so persuerynge, you nede not to praye. Father forgeue me my dettes, nor neuer to saye your Pater noster. For ye owe no loue nether vnto God nor man, ye haue payed all. And yet sayth Paule, owe ye nothinge to anye man but mutuall loue, shewynge loue to be a dette euer in payenge and neuer full payed. We shall aunswere for euery ydle worde sayth Christ. But if Wyn. had accomplysshed his condicion, so myght he go playe and iustle in iugement with Christe for his saluacion, hauinge no nede of Christes passion, then myght he clayme heauen of dewty and make grace no grace, whiche is a mere fre

gyfte

gyfte vndeserued of any man and thus were he one of those iuste prelates whom Christe sayde he came not to call. Is not he a proude foole to whom when god geueth a free iustificacion in Christ, yet wyl he refuse to take it but vpon a condicion, that he deserue it with suche workes as him selfe is neuer able to perfourme? what arrogant foole wold thus condicion hym selfe agenste gods wyll? Peter consideringe this importable condiciō said, by faith god purifieth theyr hertes, and wherefore then do ye nowe tempt god so much layenge such a yoke vpō mens necks which nether our fathers nor we be able to bere? By the grace of our lorde Jesu christ we beleue vs to be saued as were our fathers. If we shulde say that we haue no synne in vs, so are we lyers. Wherefore the scriptures conclude euery man to be a synner and infidele, that of all men God mought haue mercye. And that the promyse out of fayth in Jesu Christe shulde be geuē to the beleuers. Onely Christ fulfilled the lawe. And if Wynch. wolde mok out Paule, sayenge that when he concluded so oft man to be frely iustified by fayth onely withoute the workes of the lawe: that he ment by the workes of the lawe but circumcision and the other ceremonies nowe abrogated, and not the lawe of the cōmaūdements. Then let hym heare Paule expowninge hym selfe of what lawe he ment aunsweringe to suche obiections. By the lawe saith he, cometh the knowledge of synne, and I had not knowen cōcupiscence to haue ben synne had not the lawe sayde: Thou shalte not haue any concupiscens or lust. And thē when he wrote his pistles, circumcision and the rytes and ceremonies were abrogated amonge the christen Jewes, and the Gentyles neuer were bounde to them as was Abraham iustified by faith onely ere the lawe was written and before he was circumcised. And Peter sayd that this same law which Paule excludeth from iustificacion and Wynch. calleth his condicion, is a yoke importable which proueth it not to be circumcision nor any of theyr ceremonies of Moses lawe, for these were lyght enoughe to beare, lyghter and easyer then to not lust or desyre anye thynge agenst gods wyll or for a riche man to forsake all and gyue it to the pore, or for Wyn. to cast of his pryde his bisshopryke with all his vaynglorye and to become the humble

pore pure persecuted precher of gods worde. It is red that there was one man that by suffring doing & fulfilling the lawe of the cōmandements came to heuen, euen christ onely, In Math. we reade of a nother yonge man that wolde go to heuen by doinge some good workes, askyng christe, Good Mayster what dedes shall I do to haue lyfe eternall? whose mynde chryst seynge, dyd set hym but certayne of the easiest commaundements to fulfyll them. And he sayde, as for these I haue done them all redye, well then sayd chryst, or rather so thoughte, If ye wyll nedes go to heauen by doinge, I shall set you to do suche deedis as I knowe well ye wyll neuer do, yea they be impossible for you to do them, euen to sell his substance and to geue it to the poore and so to folow hym nowe goynge forth to Ierusalem to suffer death. What did this man I praye you? how farre went he wt Christ thynke you? went he not his waye heuylye from christ? And yet will Wyn. go to heuen by doinge and fulfyllinge his hard condicion, I dare say he wold skratch his heade twyse (as dyd this ryche man) ere he sold his bysshopryke & had geuen it to the pore. And therefore Christ pronounced that it is impossible for suche ryche men to come to heuē. God therefore trusted vs so lytle wt the fulfilling of the law & so by this condiciō to come to heuen, ẏ he toke it out of our hādes & layd it vpon his sōne christes bake to be fulfilled. For if he had left our saluaciō in our own handes to be deserued by our workes we had ben all dampned.

Vvintoñ Your hādeling of this my cōclusiō, declareth plain ẏ ye vnderstād not what ye say, nor of what thing ye affirme, & that I leaue to ẏ iudgemēt of ẏ reader, with remēbrauñce of that I haue before writtē. For ye fondely improue a cōclusiō which myght stande & be true, wt your fonde parador of only fayth iustifieth, onlesse in teaching ye wyl so handel the matter as Barnes did, that a man is iustified before he beleueth. For & if beleue go before iustification, as a cause doth thef-

fecte

fect,thé ſeing in ſcripture,beleke is called a dede, & proceding frō the gift of god,muſt nedes be a good deede,it foloweth neceſſarily.Ergo I may by gods gift do a good deede before I am iuſtifi ed.But I moued Barns,of a deede before beleke, that is ỹ lerning to beleue by hearing ſermōs or reading,wherin ỹ grace of god preparetth mans wyll as ſcripture ſayeth,(So truly do you ſaye when ye call me pelagian) I aſked Barnes of that deede whether it were good or no: and pro- ued it good.And then becauſe it is done before iuſtificatiō,I brought the concluſiō aforeſayde, wherof ye take occaſiō to be ioyful in the mery moneth of May.Al which your teſtinges I can ſo wel digeſt,as I am not aſhamed to cauſe thé to be reherſed in this boke,becauſe the buddes of your fruteful lerning may appeare, to conſider what frute we may loke for of thē.As for ỹ mat- ter of iuſtificatiō by faith & workes,was not mēt betwene Barnes & me,to be ſpokē of in this con- cluſiō,& ſo therin ye ſtriue not w̄ me,but w̄ your ſelf,& beate your owne ſhadowe in ſteade of an aduerſarie.Where ye thinke I am not ſo ignō raūt in my grāmer as to englyſhe ỹ text of ſaynt Paule.Fides que per dilectionē operatur.Faith whiche is wrought by charitie, and make (ope- rarur) a uerbe paſſiue:ye thinke not amyſſe,if I ſhulde englyſſhe it worde for worde. But as for the ſenſe,becauſe ſcripture doth attribute lyfe to charite,without which fayth remayneth deade I ſe no ſuche cauſe of abſurdite, as ye fynde, to

say, fayth is set a worke by charite, and the good lerned men of the Greake churche expounde saynt James after that sorte. And as for suche vanitie in prophecies if ye do regarde them, in ẏ peruertinge of iustification, you and Barnes with your secte, were that companye who haue so confusely handeled that matter, as ye make iustification before all fayth in hym that is only moued to beleue. Considre with your selfe whether this turninge vpsidedowne, in consideration of the doctrine in iustification. xl. yeres past, may be verefied on you or me, I affirme ẏ same iustification that was then taught, and you be the turners, and so by your owne prophecie be noted for Antechrist. I gyue no credite to suche prophecies, but because you do, I allege youre owne prophecie for your owne confusion, & as ye can not se goddes truth, which ye beleue not, so ye can not see the true sense of your own ꝓphane ꝓphecie which ye beleue. And yf ye wyl nowe go backe from your backewarde iustification, after your accustomed maner, then must you place the studiouse worke of lerninge our belefe, and likewyse the worke of baptisme, the worke of beleuynge, and the worke of loue, to be before iustification, and some of them in the thefe hanging on the crosse. God iustifieth no man without the gyftes of fayth and loue, this ye graunt, whiche when man receiueth, he receyueth by them iustification, wherein I call mans deserte & meryte onely the vsinge of the benefites offred of fayth and

The enterprise of these sectes is worldly, and they set it furth with prophecies & other worldly vanities.

Joyes prophecy noteth him self and he seeth it not.

Blinde men see nothinge

Mans merill

and loue. And other deserte and merite man can not haue. For what hath any man good that he hath not receyued. And therfore the commaundement of loue with our hole hartes. &c. is not so extreme as ye make it to a christen man, whose fayth speaketh to God boldely. Da quod iubes, as saynt Austen sayth: Giue that thou cõmaundest, by reason whereof the yoke of the lawe, impossible to be borne, is in christe easye through the gyfte of God, by christ, in whom we may do all. Neither loue, ne fayth, can be in man perfite, & they nede both continuall encreace, but he that knoweth our infirmities, taketh in good parte our imperfection for our sauiour christes sake, vpon whome our saluacion is grounded, & neyther vpon workes, ne fayth, with your diuision wherof, ye deceaue the symple people, as though workes required of a christen man, wherein to vse the gyftes purchased for man by christ, were at cõtention and stryfe with fayth, lyke the workes of Moises lawe. And herein ye moch please your self, & thinke other grosse, that be so madde to grounde their saluacion vpon workes, beinge impossible, and leaue the saluacio by fayth, which is sure & certeyne. And some talke of fayth, wherewith to apprehẽde gods mercy, as though fayth had hãdes to take and holde fast, and loue none, and they graunt that no man is iustified without charitie, but yet properlye they say faith apprehendeth the iustificacion, wherof how properly they speake, I shall speake hereafter at large

Workes stryue not with fayth, as Ioye and his suppose.

large. Nowe I wyll a litle note your fondenes mayster Joy, so to dally in so great a matter, ye aske me, whether I haue fulfilled the condicion of the iustification, and yet ye can not tell what condicion Barnes and I spake of, & so ye aske, ye wote not what, and cum in with a fre iustification, as though I deuised our iustification to be bonde. These be mere fransies. I euer affirmed that we be frelye iustified, and frelye saued, and yet god in giuinge vs this fredom, for christ, worketh so in ordre, & so wylleth vs to obserue it, which I call the condicion, as for wante thereof we shall eyther not atteyne fredome, or loose our fredome, when we haue atteyned it.

For ones made free from synne, we must walke in the path of iustice, and lyue in this worlde soberly, iustely and godly, and also to atteyne this fredome, do as god hath ordayned in vsinge his sacramentes worthely, with conuersion also of our harte, and penaũce, as god requireth of vs, whose wyll our sauiour christe in his workes, deedes and preachinges hath declared vnto vs, whiche you depraue so abhominablye & detestablie, as euen in this place god suffereth you, to write so vndiscretelye of hym, as hath not ben lykely seene or harde. For not being contente to allege christes wordes in a sense of your owne imagination, ye vtter it thus. Christe so sayde, or rather so thought. A straunge speache. Christe shewed him self god, in ẏ he knewe ẏ thoughtes of men, and what do you shewe your self, in that

A lycencious speache of Joys, touched.

ye

ye take vpon you, without wordes to leade you, to discerne the thought of Christ very god and man: and frame the speache so as though christ coulde not vtter his thought for wante of language, and that is implied in your (rather so thought) Ioye reade this place ones and ones agayne, & consider thyne owne folye in it. I will not with other termes engreue the matter, but pray God it may ashame the, and bringe the to repentaunce. For malyce in the treatinge of this matter, hath so encreased in the, as it hath vtterly confounded thy senses, that thou sawest not what thou haste written in this place (Christ sayd or rather thoughte) ye say. And what thought do you attribute to christ: that he should bidde men do that he knewe well they wolde neuer do, and that were impossible to do, whiche were a more cruel thought then any christen hart could attribute to our moost mercifull sauiour. Cursed be he (sayth saynt Jherome) that sayth gods cõmaũdemẽtes be impossible. And when ye haue in these fewe wordes sayd so farre amysse, ye byd me say on Winchester ons agayne as foloweth.

Ergo I may do well by the gyfte of God before I am iustified towardes the attaynement of iustificacion. Vvin. v. article.

Nowe declareth he by his well doing for the attaynment of his iustification to be iustified by workes. Here is his condicion declared to be workes. Here he sheweth him selfe to be arrogantly bolder the Dauid or iust Job, which both feared their workes and despyzed god not to entre into iudgement with them, for then shulde there no man be iustified in his syght, and agayne sayth Da-

Ioye.

uid, Lorde if thou shouldes obserue oure iniquities, who shal stande before the in iugement vncondempned? But Wynch, may do well in the moneth of May, before men, ere he be iustified before God, and sorcioyse of his owne toyly iustification rydynge vpon his horse or mule. He wolde fayne here wrap in his workes with his fayth both togither into one bed to warme & win his iustificacio, that he myght be sure by both togither (for the moo the better) to be iustified Sed pallium ambos operire non potest (sayth I saye) but the couerlet is to narowe & to short to couer them both, one of them therefore is like to lye bare ars and a colde. For god to whom we be maried by fayth and mercy is a iyelouse god, and wyll not that any of his spouses shuld ly with a nother to diuide their fayth fro hym to workes to be iustified by the, nor to separate forgyuenes of synnes from his bloude. Is Christ deuided? And therefore if this iusticiarye by his may wel doing, before he be iustified, toward thattaynemet therof so procede toward his entet, he may be (as ye fryers and monkes were wont to say) in via perdicionis, perfectionis I wolde say, but vnto the very iustification shall he neuer come, euen men of a corrupte mynde caried awaye of diuerse lustes, euer lerninge and neuer commen vnto the knoweledge of the truth: for suche deceuers shall go forth worse & worse, tyl their wickednes be ripe, leadynge other into errours, their selues beynge blynde and farre oute of the waye, turned vnto vayne speach and false doctrine, willige to be seene doctours and yet vnderstonde they not what they saye nor of what thynges they make actes, articles, and institutyons.

Vvinton As ye expound my saienges, so haue you expoũded scripture, only as ye wold haue it or as ye gesse at it, without cõsideratiõ how one expositiõ agreeth w another, ye be like your self in peruersite thoroughly. For as ye care not what sẽse ye make of scripture, so it liketh you, no more care ye what ye report of any mans wrytinges

or

or sayenges, so it lyke you, whereby ye declare throughly your generatiō, When I had proued to Barnes, that it was vnaduisedly sayd of him, that man myght not do well by goddes grace, before iustification. I dydde fyrst improue that fonde sayenge, whereby he confounded the ordre of iustification. And when I had declared that (as I haue before touched) then I tolde hym howe it folowed also, that by the gyfte of God man myghte do good, towardes the atteynemente of iustification. And nowe ye saye I declare howe man is iustified by workes, and therupon ye dally, howe fayth and workes can not lye in one bedde, and one couerlet can not couer them both, and Christe is not deuided. Whereunto herken a lyttle, here how wysely ye speake: In youre iustification by onelye fayth, this I aske, who beleueth, god, or man? I thynke ye wyll saye man by goddes gift. And so God gyueth the gifte of fayth, and man receyueth it, do not here concurre in two workes, god and man? which lye both in one bed? and be couered with one couerlet? to thaccōplyshment of iustificatiō? And is god so ielouse thē, that he wil not haue it spokē whē he worketh, & mā also worketh w̄ him by his gift & help? Be not we called in scripture cooperatores dei? Dyd not one couerlet couer god & Gedeō (if we shal speake in your allegory) & was not Gedeō taught to ioyne him self to god & to teach his soudiers, so to cry in ye distructiō of ye Madianites? The sword of god & of Gedeō? &

Domino & Gedeoni: After which sort, knowle-
gyng that god vseth the membres of his church,
in ẏ mynistery of his workes, w̄ mutual prayer,
one to helpe an other, we say god and oure lady
helpe vs, wherein god giueth the help, & our La-
dy prayeth for it, which is a help to obtayn help,
& so in the honour of god & our lady: God giueth
not his glory from him. Therein he is ielouse,
but god doth communicate his glory in glorifi-
enge of his sayntes whiche then redoundeth to
hym. And ẏ we may acknowledge in our speach.
And we englysh men to whome god hath geuen
many victories vnder ẏ banner of saint George,
may not we as wel saye: God and saynt George,
as they sayd vnder Gedeon Domino & Gede-
oni: Goddes honour is nothyng diminished, by
addicion of his seruaunt to wayte vpon hym,
and for our teaching therin. Gedeon was lerned
to say, Gladius domini et Gedeonis. And in this
common speache, when men saye, I thanke god,
and the kynge, Trowe you god is angry with ẏ
speache, as though it were to homely to ioyne
the kyng with god: or hath god the lesse thanke,
that the kynge is ioyned in thankes with hym:
where in deede the kynge hath no thanke, but by
god, and for god, and god is thanked as author,
and the kynge as goddes seruaunt. And in this
sence the speach was conceyued. Mary amonge
ẏ rude people, by mysvnderstanding there hath
growen superstition, which is a fault annexed to
the multitude, to do eyther to muche, or to lytle,
and

and the reformacion therein hath ben expedient, but the ponge boye that in thentrie to lerne his letters, was taught to saye, Christes crosse, me spede and saynt Nycholas, was for so muche taught, no errour at all, but saynt Nicholas wel named, as one by Christes crosse auaũced here, to lerning and vertue, & nowe by power of the same crosse, placed in felicite, where he may pray for other, to be holpen as he was, And god helpeth by giuinge of helpe, and saynt Nicholas helpeth by prayenge for the same helpe, In confession whereof, we set forth the honour of god, and magnifie it, euen as god wolde haue it magnified, who so hath exalted his ministers as to be one with him, not by diuision, as ye peruersly terme it, not as checkemate, as ye odiously name it, but as beinge participate and enioyinge his glory and his honour, which is not lessed therby or diminished, but amonges vs, more set fourth and spred abrode. And therefore churches and aulters, be named with sayntes names, not that any sayntes is author of any churche, for god is onely author, ne there can be any sacrifice, and so none aulter, but to god onely, and yet for memorie of those sayntes, in whom god is honored we haue done and may dedicate churches and aulters, in the honour of god and this or that saint, wherein the sayntes is remẽbred, as an honorable seruaunte. And so when we say, In the honour of god and saynt George. God is named as author of all honour, & saynt George, is called to

the participation of that honour, by god, accor-
ding to the wordes of christ, If any man honour
me, my father shal honour him, in heauen, wher-
in god spendeth not his honour and hath the
lesse hym selfe, as they wold persuade, that wold
not haue sayntes named with god in honour,
for sparing of gods honour, but god so spredeth
his honour abrode, and is therbye magnified a-
mõge vs. The catholique doctrine teacheth god
hollye with his seruauntes, Chryste, hollye with
his preceptes. You be the onelye deuyders of
Chryste, who can not abyde the teachynge of
hole christ, which consisteth in the due receyuing
the benefites of his passion and folowynge his
example. This haulf of Christ, ye talke of, that
he hath suffered for our synne, payde oure raun-
som, satisfied for vs, but the other haulfe, that
Chryste suffred for oure example, to worke after
hym, that ye can not abyde ne dygest the prea-
chynge of it. ye saye also ye loue Christe, but ye
deuide hym from his seruauntes, his sayntes
departed, vnder a wronge pretence, of the preser-
uation of his hole honour. Christe hym selfe, ye
call lyke, but ye call his seruauntes the sayntes
departed, deade men, and for spite cut of their
eares, and say they can not heare, bicause they
want theyr bodies. Thus do you deuide christ, &
make strife betwene his giftes also, with your
only faith, wherewith to put charite out of office
in iustificatiõ. And ye be verelie they of whõ the
text of saynt Paule to Timothe, may be verified

which ye bryng in agaynst me. Reade the text, as ye allege it agayne, and do as Plato was wonte to do, when he redde any thinge sayenge, do not this touch me? As for the matter of actes in the realme (whiche ye knowe I make not) I wyl not entreate with you, being matters by the realme agreed vpon, accordyng to gods truth, which it besemeth me not, to call in any doubte. But let see what ye say further.

But play on yet agayne ones mayster Wynchester. Ioye:

There is euer as muche charite towardes god as fayth, and as fayth encreaseth so doth charitie encrease. Vvin. vi. article.

This is truth nether ought it to be impugned if he take fayth and charite as Paul taketh thē. There must nedes some truth be myxte with lyes, that he myght the slylyer deceyue, & some sugar mingled with his venom that he myght the priuelier poyson. Ioye.

THus much ye say I speake well, and so I doubte not, I dydde the reste, But yet I spake not this, after youre vnderstandynge, as though fayth and charite, must euer be to gether in one. But to this purpose, this speache serued, we spake of turning to god, wherin I sayd, that as god gaue man, by faith, knowledge to come to hym: So he gaue charite to loue hym. So as whē god calleth man, to hym, there in the turnynge of man, and goinge to god, god addeth to fayth, loue, accordinge as sainte Austen sayeth. Credere in deum est amando in eum ire. To beleue Vvinton̄

beleue in god, is by louing, to go vnto hym. And therefore ye shall not take that aduauntage of my (there) whiche worde, (there) placed as it was then spoken to Barnes, had an other signification speciall, then ye by allowinge of it wold haue it signifie. For it was not spoken in this sēse, ꝑ your doctrine teacheth, wherby to signify, that who soeuer loseth charitie, loseth also faith, but there where god giueth fayth, he giueth also charitie, bycause fayth without charitie, remayneth deade.

Ioye. What then Wynchester.

V vin. vii article. To thattaynement of iustification, is required fayth and charitie.

Ioye. Fayth onely (sayth Christe and Paule) is required to thattaynement of the iustification which is of God, nether is charite excluded from fayth, but from the efficacye effect and office to iustifie. For to this effect and office is fayth alone sufficient effectuously. As frō fyer or from the sonne we exclude not heate nor brightnes, but yet haue heat and brightnes their sondry effectes & offices, for the heat warmeth and with his brightnes the sonne shyneth and giueth lyght. Charite hath many fayer effectes and offices attributed onely vnto her selfe as proper, and is highly commended for them, as is faith extolled of Paule for her offices in ꝑ Hebrewes. And I dare say, charitie is content with her owne workes, called bening pacient. &c. so that she desireth not to put her elder syster faith out of her theife office nor yet to vsurpe any part thereof, whose office principall is alone to iustifie, but & if Wyn. will defraud fayth of her effecte and imparte it vnto charite, he shall offende both charite and fayth. This is certayne that if charite had had any suche an excellent effect and office as to iustify, Paule wolde not, haue omytted it, but wolde haue gē-

uen

uen her the glory therof settinge it forth before all sayenge, Charite iustifieth, charitie is benigne, pacient, &c. I wold Win. wold once shewe vs where he findeth this text in scripture. Charitie iustifieth. It is written in many places fayth iustifieth, by fayth god testified our fathers to be iustified, yea and that wythout the workes of the law. Freely doutles are men iustified by grace (sayth Paule) throwe the raunsom and redemptiō made by the anoynted saviour whom god the father hath set forth to be the free mercifull gyft or seat of mercy therupō to be appeased through fayth in his bloud set forth (I saye) to declare him selfe faythfull and true of his promise concerninge the forgeueues of synnes hitherto committed and past, which sinnes god the father had not anon punished but pacientlye suffred them to declare his longe suffringe and him selfe to be trwe of his promise at this present tyme when him self wolde be knowen and declared faythfull and iust in that he iustifieth who soeuer beleueth & lyueth in Jesu by fayth. Where is then now thy glorioufe bosting oh Win.? It is playnly excluded & shut out of dores. By what reason? by the reason of vertue & workes? No no, but by the reason of faith, we cōclude therefore (sayth Paul) that by fayth a man is iustified without the workes of the law. Lo here is all gloriacion of works blowne downe, layde flat in the dust by the reason and power of fayth: for as fayth humbleth and geueth al glory to god, so do workes pufke vp man and ascribe glory vnto men. If theffect of christs passion shulde depende of the condicion of our works, we shulde neuer be sure & certayne of our iustification, for all our workes are vnperfit and fowle as the sicke womans clothes. Paule hym selfe dyd his office so truelye that his cōscience could not accuse him of any faut, and yet he sayd, Non tamen in hoc iustificatus sum, yet for so doinge am I not iustified.

I Sayd to thattaynement of iustificacion, is required fayth and charite. You saye that Christe and saynt Paule sayth fayth onely, and yet ye sayde euen nowe, and so ye say a lytle Vvintoñ

after, that charitie is ioyned, with the fayth ye speake of, and you your self, take fayth and charitie for twoo sisters, but ye make fayth the elder sister, and affirme, that in iustification, charitie that ye call the yonger sister, is not excluded. These be your wordes, wherein ye saye, the same I say, as a playne symple man wolde wene, such as ye take vpon you, to teach in englysche. For I say both the systers (as ye call them) be there, and ye say they be there also. Where is the variaunce then, betwene you and me? Forsothe in two poyntes. One is that ye saye, fayth and charitie, be both in iustification, and yet ye saye, Saint Paule and Christ, say, fayth onely, wherby ye declare your self, howe muche ye regarde their sayenges, and that what soeuer they say, ye dare (if it lyke you) say the contrarie. Nowe for my part I saye, fayth and charitie be both in iustification, bycause Christ and sayne Paule saye the same. In other variaunce betwene you and me is, ye saye, albeit both sisters, fayth and charitie, be in iustification, yet charitie, the yonger sister (as ye terme it) standeth still idle, and onlye waiteth vpon her elder sister, faith, whiche fayth ye say, is only in efficacie, effecte and office in iustification, but not onelye in companye, for faith (ye saye) is accompanied with charitie in iustification, and yet fayth as the elder syster, worketh all. I saye they be both, not onelye in company, in iustification, but also in office, and efficacie, so as all the controuersye, in iustificaci-

on,

on,is come nowe, to this fyne, subtyll,narrowe issue,whether charitie in iustification, worketh or is vele. And is not(trowe you) the discussion of this poynte, a worthye matter, wherewith to trauell the symple vnexercysed wyttes of the worlde. And surelye,all the dysputacyon,in this artycle of iustificatiō,is deduced by discussion thus farre, that for all the onely and onely,with so many onlyes,which they haue added to faith. to make the speach litigiouse,there is now none founde amounge lerned men ,but that saye (as ye mayster Iaye saye) that charitie is not excluded frome fayth in iustificacyon,but that there is in the iustyfycacyon of man, fayth and charitie. But the newe secte (whiche ye profesſe) to mayntayne thaduerse(onelye) say the office of fayth is only to iustifie, & yet charitie is present, but is not effectuouse therein. So as fayth and charitie beynge two giftes of God gyuen both together,the one(that is to saye) fayth,worketh iustification onelye, as ye saye, and that other, charitie for the tyme standeth vele, tyll iustification be past. And to induce men,to se this euen aswell as you do your selfe, ye vse a similitude of the sonne and fyre, which manner of teaching Christ vsed muche by thynges corporall and visible,to make some explication of thynges inuisible and incorporall, and so to induce men to the vnderstandynge of them,whiche for my part I muche allowe, and onelye fynde this faulte in some of your sorte, that albeit in you, they

The issue of the cōtrouersy in iustification.

Similitudes be necessarye to playne teachynge.

allowe and appꝛoue ſimilitudes, foꝛ coꝛroboꝛacion of youꝛ doctrine, yet when youꝛ doctrine ſhulde be impugned, they can not abyde ſimilitudes, but they ſay ſtreight as they here of thé, fye on them: Blynde not me (ſayth he) by ſimilitudes but comme to the playne matter, and yet ſometyme the matter is ſo darke, as it can not be perceiued without the ſpectacles of a ſimilitude, oꝛ parable, and anon the ſimilitude well conſidered, the matter that was darke, is ſene by and by. Foꝛ a ſimilitude, is as it were a ſpeache of the woꝛdes and thinge togither, foꝛ both ỹ thing reſembled, and the woꝛdes alſo ſpeaketh at ones. But nowe to youꝛ ſimilitude, whereby ye entẽd to make men perceyue, howe it might be, that two thinges conioyned together, may haue dyuerſe effectes, and ſo eche one of them, to woꝛke his effecte apart, without confuſion. Foꝛ ſo ye ſaye, doth fayth and charitie. The ſonne & fyꝛe ye ſaye, haue eche one of them heate and bꝛightnes, and the heate warmeth and the bꝛyghtnes ſhyneth. So as by this ſimilitude, we maye vnderſtande, that from god, whome ye ſignifie by the ſonne oꝛ fyꝛe, is gyuen to man befoꝛe he be iuſtified, two vertues, fayth and charite, whereof fayth ſhyneth, and charitie warmeth. And in deede the effecte of fayth, is pꝛoperly, to illuminate thunderſtanding, and of charitie to warme and kyndle mans colde and earthly affection.

Nowe if the iuſtification of man implied onely therpulſion of darkenes, frome mannes vnder-

ſtan-

standing, the effect of fayth, wolde suffice, but seinge god in iustificacion, moueth mannes hart, and kindleth loue in it, whye may not these two vertues, with their two effectes, by goddes wo:kinge, concurre in mannes iustification? your similitude letteth it not, but rather confirmeth it. As fo: saynt Paule declareth playnlye, that albeit he speaketh sometyme of fayth without mẽcion of charitie, yet he meaneth not fayth, as a bare foundacion, but fayth with charite. And as euery foundacion co:po:all, is first in p:io:ite of tyme. So is euery foundacion intellectuall, fy:st in p:io:itie of nature. And therefo:e bicause no man loueth, that he knoweth not before, fayth that b:ingeth knowledge must nedes p:ecede, & faith that hath not charite is dead, so as by these ii. vertues god resuscitatinge man in iustificacion frõ the death of synne to lyfe, giueth ỹ giftes of knowledge and loue (that is to say) faith and charite, beinge god onely the officer him selfe that iustifieth, & to him ye may put (onely) and (onely) fo: he is the iustifier and requireth (only) of man (mary that he wyl haue done) to receyue and vse these vertues, as he giueth them. And this is the playne teachinge, and agreable with scriptures, which must be so vnderstanded, as one part, may be consonant to the other, without such hacking as ye make of it. God gaue Ab:aham faith wher with to beleue him, & charite wherewith to loue him, and Ab:aham as he beleued god so he loued him both together. And if I shulde returne

Iustificatiõ.

to your similitude, whē men say, that they shuld plant their vines, where the sonne may shyne on them, do they affirme that the brightnes & lyght of the sonne, giueth the comfort to the vynes? or rather the heat? The speach is of the brightnes, as a parte may signifie, the hole, but in the heat is the effect. Ye dalye in the matter, to triumphe ouer me, and take vpon you the part of a mediatour, betwene the two sisters faith and charitie, & ye commend charite, for many good properties forsothe. but ye say the elder sister faith, hath ꝑ iustificatiō by scripture. Is not this properly handled, in so seriouse a matter? But ye require scripture of me whiles ye daly, & talke your self, without scripture. As for scripture this I say to you, that & ye note scripture, ye shal finde in the true sēce of it, ꝑ as the promisse of god is knit to faith, so it is knyt to loue, as lyfe is promised to men beleuinge, so it is promised to men louing. And as often as saint Paule nameth faith, not speaking of loue, so oftē and oftener, doth saint Johñ in his epistles speake of charitie without mencion of faith, & declareth plainly, that he that loueth not, is in death, and he that loueth not knoweth not god. And as saint Paule saith to ꝑ Hebrues, he that cōmeth to god must beleue. So christe sayde, in the gospell of saynt Jhoñ, No man he sayth, cōmeth to me, without my father draweth hym, the sense whereof is, but by loue, wherwith saynt Austine sayth, god draweth vs accordinge as god by Moises signified to vs, ꝑ he sheweth

his

his mercy, to them that loue him. It is true, we can not loue god onles he prepareth our harte, and geue vs that grace, no more can we beleue god, onlesse he giueth vs the gift of beleke. And so god is thauthor of all our welth, & our helper, that we may worke with him, and he is the onely iustifier, the only sauiour and only mediatour. And as for ỹ speach of (only fayth iustifieth) the scripture hath not, & yet hath ben spokē by some lerned men to exclude ỹ workes of Moyses law, wherin S. Paule labored in his epistle to the Romaynes, where S. Paule speaketh not of the thaduerbe (onely) nor he hath not this fashion of speach, faith iustifieth, but in this wise, we be iustified by faith, & attributeth the act of Justificatiō to god. And S. Augustine saith plainly, that for the more playne vnderstanding of S. Paul, god inspired S. James to write his epistle. And further saint Austen saith, ỹ S. Paule speaking of fayth, did euer meane such a faith, as had the gift of charite wt it, wherof he spake to the Galathiās. Neq; circūcisio, neq; prepuciū est aliquid, sed fides que per dilectionem operatur. And to the Corinthians, he that hath not charite is nothinge. And therefore as scripture testifieth that god maketh his promise to them ỹ beleue in him so it testifyeth that god maketh his promyse to them that loue him, as saynt James wryteth. And by the wyse man god sayeth, I loue them that loue me. Saynt Jhoñ affirmeth, he that loueth not god, knoweth not god so as without

God the only iustifier.

I loue

I loue, I can not frutefully beleue, no not ẏ be-
lefe of knowlege, as S. Jhoñ declareth wherby
appeerith, that the yonger syster charitie, for so
ye speake of her, hath office to helpe her elder si-
ster fayth, in iustification. But ye now presse me
to shewe you scripture, in this forme of sillables,
Charitie iustifieth. And yet ye haue no scripture
so framed, for fayth, as to say, fayth iustifieth, ne-
uerthelesse to aunswere you accordinge to your
folysshnes, and to stoppe your mouth, who be-
gin to appose me, as children were wont eche one
another in their primers, to aske, where theyfoñd
two deus, and neuer a meus? Thus much I say,
I fynd in saynt Paule, deus iustificat, and then
I fynde in saynt Jhon, deus est charitas: And so
I fynde charitas iustificat. For quicquid predi-
catur de subiecto, predicatur de predicato. And
so if deus predicatur de iustificare, to saye, deus
iustificat, and then charitas predicatur de deo,
deus est charitas, the scripture that sayth deus
iustificat, sayth also, charitas iustificat. And thus
I giue you wordes for wordes, who deserue non
other. For elles I knowe that, charitas que de
deo predicatur, est increata, and so differethe, a
charitate qua iustificamur. Thus for my recrea-
cion, I aunswere you, as you be worthye, who
from seriouse discussion of the true sense, wyll
brynge the matter to sillables, and yet in dede, ye
haue no such sillables, for fayth, what so euer ye
say, as you wold haue me finde, to serue for cha-
rite: for scripture hath neither fides iustificat, nor
cha

An answere mete for him that wyll stryue for sillables.

charitas iustificat, in sillables, but ỹ sense of both is conteyned in scripture, as before is declared. As for wordes of the lawe serue you onely, for matter to talke on. As for frenes in iustification, I affirme all to be of gift, and there is nothynge freer then gift. I speake of no glory, but onely of goddes glory in whome we shuld glory, as sayne Paule teacheth vs. Nowe where ye saye, that if thefferte of chrystes passion, shoulde depend of the condicion of our workes we shuld neuer be sure, and certayne of our iustification, for all our workes are vnperfite, & foule. Thus I aunswer you, that what surenes ye wold haue I can not tell, but of this I am sure, that god hath thus ordeyned that baptisme is necessary, to attayne saluacion, and yet all childzen, be not sure to be baptised. And this doth scripture tell me assuredly, that a man must perseuer in good doinge, to thende, or elles he shall not be saued, and that he that standeth in vertue, may fal, and be cast oute. I am assured by sayne Paules admonition in his epistle to the Romaynes, byddinge the gentyle, take hede that he fal not. And sayne Austen sayth, If we continue in goodnes, we may be assured of god, that he wyl not fayle, but whether we shal continue, no man knoweth. And therfore such assuraunce as ye speake of, without regarde of the condicio, and obseruing of it also, I haue not redde. Thus haue I lerned in scriptures, if we turne, when god turneth to vs, If we beleue, when god illuminateth vs.

Conditions required in scripture of man for his saluacion.

If we loue, as god kyndleth vs. If we be baptised as god cõmaũdeth vs, we shalbe iustified, If we walke in iustification, as god by christ hath taught vs, and therein persеuere, we shalbe saued and glorified. And I knowe none other englyshe for so many iffes, but to call them condicions, and workes also to be done by vs, whiche workes, be vnperfite in vs, that be our selfe vnperfite, and as touchinge vnperfitenes, fayth therein differeth not from charitie, for they nede bothe dayly increase of perfection, and therefore Job sayde. Verebar omnia opera mea, whiche may comprehend fayth also. But al our imperfitnes, is supplied in christes perfitnes, and so christ supplieth vs, and we supply not Christ. We shulde do all as christ dyd, for he is our example to folowe, but we can not, for we haue the dregges of synne, and be compassed about with infirmities, as punyshment for the synne of our father Adam. So as the powers of oure soule, vpon occasion of the worlde, and the flesh, and suggestion of the deuell, be ready to rebellion, And herein aswell the power of the soule, that properly receyueth fayth, to diffidẽce, and doubt agaynst the certaynte of godly fayth, as also the power of the soule, that receyueth charitie to contempte or negligence towardes the obseruation of goddes pleasure, with some confusion in hope also, as aduersities encombre vs, or pleasures make vs wanton. For although the gylte of originall synne, be taken awaye in baptysme

cyſine, yet the ſcarre of it, and (as it were) the matter of it, doth remayne, whiche as it troubleth, and letteth mannes perfection in vertue, and thereby is mayntayned a continuall ſtrife and debate, ſo is it not to be accõpted our ſynne tyll we conceyue it, by enbzacynge and agreynge to ſuche carnall motions. And therefoze ſaynt James ſayeth, that concuppyſcence, when it conceyueth, bzyngeth foꝛth ſynne. And lyke as in euery kynde, the female is commenly barren, onleſſe it conceyueth of the male: ſo is concuppyſcence barren and voyde of ſynne, onleſſe it conceyue of man the agreymente of his free wyll, conſentynge to the euyll motion. And bycauſe no man hath ben ſo perfytte, but hathe in the continuall fyght yelded, althoughe men myghte be by grace, wythout ſynne, yet becauſe no man hath (excepte oure Ladye as ſaynte Auguſtyne ſayth who is alwayes to be excepted) yf we ſhulde ſaye we hadde no ſynne, we were lyars, as ſaynte Johñ ſayeth, and therefoze after ſaynt Auſtens mynde, do not onelye foꝛ humilite, but alſo foꝛ trueth, pꝛaye in oure common pꝛayer daylye foꝛ remiſſion of our ſynnes. And ſo mayſter Joye, to returne to oure matter, yf ye wolde foꝛ policie, flee frome the woꝛke of loue, to the woꝛke of faythe, becauſe ye wolde be aſſured, ye be no moꝛe aſſured, in reſpecte of youre owne woꝛke, by faythe, then ye be by charitie, but all our aſſuraunce, is in gods pꝛomiſe. Foꝛ deus uerax, et omnis homo mendax, and

therefore how so euer ye and yours will Jeste at it. I wyll returne agayne to the common prayer of the church Omnipotens sempiterne deus, da nobis fidei, spei et charitatis augmentum, et ut mereamur assequi quod promittis, fac nos amare quod præcipis. which prayer beinge so olde in the churche, they haue ben affrayed, for reuerẽce of auncientie, to banishe in Germany, although it repugneth and disproueth their teachynge in this matter. Wherefore as the sũme of our helth beginneth, continueth, and is accomplysshed by goddes mercy. (Quia neq; volentis neq; currentis, sed miserentis est dei: so the assurauncc of our helth, dependeth vpon goddes promyse. Mary (q you) and that is truth, and here ye wyll clap your handes, and extolle the strength of truth, that breaketh out, although we pharisais (as ye saduces call vs) wolde oppresse it. The promise of god is all, Et ideo, ex fide (say you) and these wordes scrypture hath, ut firma sit promissio. And nowe ye wyll percase bringe in Melanctons correlatiues whereof ye make mention in the ende of youre booke of faith and of promise: And that the cause why we be iustified by faith (sayth he) and not by charitie, is because promise can not be receaued, but by fayth. And in this poynt/they meruayl of the grossenes of our wit, that vnderstande not the nature of correlatiues, and se not howe a promise, can onely be apprehẽded by fayth, & that is the grounde, that moueth thẽ to say, Onely faith iustifieth. And thus they reason

A consideration of the argument, how fayth apprehendeth the promise.

reason, Seinge our saluation dependeth vpon goddes promise, and a promise can not be apprehended, but by faith onely, we must nedes saye, only faith iustifieth, And to make ỹ matter plain they bringe in a similitude. If one man promiseth an other. xx. li. how can he, to whom the propromise is made, apprehend the promise but only by beleuinge him that promiseth. And this is the newe scoole of Germany, where sophistry is not banysshed, but hath a newe garment and is clothed with pretence of simplicitie. For in this teachinge, is a meruelouse apparaunce of plainnes, and throughly cõsidered, conteyneth a mere deceit. And note well reader, that thou mayest perceiue this iuggelinge sophistrie, where it deceyueth the. It is not denied, but onely faith apprehẽdeth the promise, therein is no controuersy, but marke well this, when god iustifieth man, god ministreth mercy to vs, which was ỹ thinge god promised to giue vs (as ỹ prophet zacharie prophecied god wolde giue him selfe) who is all mercie, wherevpon is grounded our saluation, wherein we must considre distinctly and a parte the promise of god, and the thynge by him promised, which is mercy. The promise is one, the thinge conteyned in the promise is an other. As in their example (for I dare make no newe) when one frende promiseth an other. xx. li. the promise is the bonde, the thing promised is the. xx. li In which example, though I graunt, that I apprehend my frendes promise, with beleuing him,

Goddes promyse of mercy, sheweth the promyse to be the bõd, & mercye the thinge promised.

yet I appzehende not, that is conteyned in my frendes pzomise, with beleuinge him, foz I appzehend that with my handes, yf it be payed me. And so although we appzehende goddes pzomyse, with oure beleke, yet the exhibicion of the mercye of God, whiche is the thynge compzehended in goddes pzomyse, we appzehende that with all such partes of vs, of bodye and soule, as be comfozted and healed, by that mercy. And in the wozkynge of chzistes miracles, the pzomysse of helthe, in body and soule, was receaued by fayth, in the vnderstandynge lyghtened by God, but the healthe was receaued, in all the partes healed of body and soule. Nowe if he wyl yet wzangle and saye, that the pzomyse of god, is mercye, and god wyll surely fulfill his pzomyse. So as he that appzehendeth, the pzomyse, appzehendeth also mercye. I wyll not barye with hym therein to saye that the pzomyse is foz the certayne hope of the thing pzomysed, mercy. Foz as oure Ladye sayde in the spirite of pzophecy Suscepit Israel puerum suum, recordatus misericordiæ suæ. God hath taken to hym Israel, his seruaunt, remembzing his mercy, that is to say, accozding to his mercyfull pzomise, whiche the nexte verse declareth. Sicut locutus est. &c. yet ye shal note here a distinction in degre of mercy, betwene the mercye in the mercyful pzomise, whē our Lady sayth recordatus misericordię suæ, & the very receiuing of Israel to his seruice which god doth in iustification of man, foz then he ta-

keth

keth Israel the beleuer that seeth god to his ser-
uaunt, which is a further mercy & the very mer-
cy promised. So as Israel apprehendeth ỹ mer-
ciful promise by faith, but being taken to seruice,
receaueth ỹ further mercy promised, in receauing
a newe hart, a newe spirite, whiche god createth
in man, with the gyfte of charitie, and resuscita-
teth in man lyke, beinge all like and charitie him
selfe. Wherefore we maye not properly saye we
apprehend iustification by fayth, whiche is the
exhibition of mercy promised by god, to iustifie
man, onlesse, we wolde call the promisse of god,
and the exhibition of the thinge promysed all
one. God wyll do assuredly, that he promiseth,
and yet his promyse, and the thinge promised
be distincte, and the promyse and the exhibiti-
on of the promise distincte, but assuredlye knyt
together, without faylynge, for god can not fayl,
and yet disseuered, in cõsideration of ỹ scripture.
And here in is the sophistry, in this newe scoole,
slythly to passe ouer and iuggle, as this man
speaketh of vnder borde, from the promise to the
exhibition of the thynge promysed, which theyre
sleight is not of the rude, easylye espyed, bycause
in common speach, we vse sometyme, to signifye,
by the worde (promyse) the thynge promysed,
and so we do, when we saye, we be saued by god-
des promisse meanynge his mercye promised,
and yet be the promysse, and mercy promysed,
diuers in consideration of the thynge, as afore.
As soone as man beleueth, God procedethe

to

to the fulfillyuge of his promise, for his parte, & giueth vs a newe spirite, and a newe hart, and so iustifieth vs, if we receiue it, and assente by oure free choyce vnto it, and worke with it, whiche is the effectuall receiuinge, and the worthynes on our part, whereby we be iustified. And note well this that there must be on our part a worthines, and therefore, howe so euer ye wyll smyle at it, it is a good prayer, Ora pro nobis sancta dei genitrix, ut digni efficiamur promissionib⁹ christi. In this prayer we call vpon oure Ladye as a lyuely membre of christes misticall body, to pray to god, for vs and with vs, that we may be made worthy, the promises of christ. In which prayer we acknowledge and truely profesſe, that ỹ promises of god, require in vs a worthynes. For the promises of god be not to all men, without condition absolute, for then all shulde be saued, but onelye to suche as be worthy, to enioye them.

The churche hath always labored in remembraunce of gods promises to put vs in remembraunce of our worthynes.

And of this worthynes the scripture speaketh the thyrde chapter in the boke of wisdome, sayenge, god hath tempted them, and founde them worthy him. And Centurio in the gospell, when he humblye, wolde haue auoyded the comminge of Christ into his house, sayde. Lorde, I am not worthye, that thou shouldeste entre into my house. Nowe if we shall so profesſe the signification of this worde (worthy) as we meane somtyme when we say, Dignus est operarius mercede sua, no man can be founde worthy, the mercy of god, but if we can be content in the vnderstandinge,

Scaretheth seekynge them, that be worthy her.

to

to abstayne from the extremite, and take worthines for metenes after gods acceptation, then all suche, may be accompted worthy as conformeme them selfe to goddes pleasure, and vse such giftes of god, as whereby god maketh vs worthy, both the gyftes receaued and other more: So as the sense of the prayer, that we may be made worthye, is that we maye be conformable, to the fulfillinge of goddes wyll. And it is to be noted, that we praye that we maye be made worthy (for we can not make our selfes worthy) but must receaue all of god, of whom is all worthines, and of our selfe vnworthines, and yet in the atteyninge of worthines, we be workers with god, by his grace as before is declared. And thus much I speake hereof howe this prayer, which many wold depraue is agreable, with the sense of scripture, bicause it is necessarie, we be put in remembraunce, that the promises of god, require the condition of worthines on our behalfe, wherein is required oure endeuour. Ye bringe in at the laste a text of saint Paule, lyke a keye to cleue a logge. For saynt Paules speakinge in that place, nothinge perteyneth to the iustification we speake of, as ye knowe well ynough, but onely vse it bicause ye delite in copy. Then foloweth that ye call my. viii. article.

Euerye thinge is to be called freelye done, wherof the beginninge is free and at lybertye withowte any cause of prouocation.

S. So

So is there nothing frely done. For man hauinge his humane naturall affectes, as loue hatred, feare, ioye, heuines, gladnes, concupiscence, honger, thirste &c. Beſydes theſe alſo hauing any celeſtiall gyftes as faith hope &c, muſt nedis be prouoked of thē to do or to ſuffer all thingis. But ꝑ liberty of ꝑ ſpirit conceiued by faith wher of Chriſte and Paul ſpeke, affirming by faith him ſelfe to be free and by loue to be bondman to all men is of an higher diuinite thē this popiſh lawer or cowrtlye ruffler can attayne vnto.

Howe Iope here prouoketh me to call him by his name.

YE reherce mine article right, tyll ye come to the latter word where in ſteade of the word (compulſion) ye put in the word (prouocation) I wold neuer haue giuen Barnes a his ſcolefelow ſuch a cauſe of prouocation to haue teſted of me, as to ſaye as ye reherſe. For not onely vice, beſides the inſtigation of the deuill, hath a materiall cauſe of prouocation to vice, but alſo vertue, beſides the calling of god, hath a materiall cauſe of prouocation to vertue. In prouocation of vertue and vice this differeth, that a man may play the deuplies parte, & tempte him ſelfe, and ſo exercise the materiall cauſe of vice, but man can not playe goddes parte, and of him ſelfe put in worke, the materiall cauſe of vertue, vertuouſly, for all goodnes commeth from aboue. But with Barnes it came in by the way, to ſpeake of mās free worckinge, eyther in ſynne or vertue, or any other action indifferente. This maxime, I tolde him that euery thynge is to be eſteemed of the begynnynge. For if the begynninge hath no compulſyon, the acte is to be called free, yf the begynnynge hath force and compulſyon, all that

folowth

folowethe hath the nature of neceſſitie. We diſcuſſed this in many ſpecialties, and amongeſte other, in the ſtate of preiſtes, whether they that lyued vnmaryed, ſuche as wolde nowe marrye, I meane ſuche as thoſe be, whether they maye complayne of wante of fredome, to vſe the woꝛld at libertye, as god hath permitted? And herein bicauſe the beginninge of that ſtate of preiſthode, hath no cauſe of compulſion, foꝛ no man is compelled to be a preiſte, and yet there be many cauſes of pꝛouocation, ſo as eche man hath ones in his lyfe lybertie and choyce whether he wyll entre the ſtate of preiſthoode oꝛ no. After anye man hath entred that ſtate, yf he lyketh it not, he maye well lament his owne folye in the choyſe of it, but he hath no cauſe to complayne of the ſtate, wherevnto he was neuer compelled, but myght haue choſen whether he wolde haue entred it oꝛ no. And therefoꝛe to euerye man that murmurethe at the pꝛeſente condition of his lyfe, it is obiected in common reaſon thus. Ye might haue choſen. Wherevnto yf anye man coulde truelye replye, and ſaye I coulde not chooſe, euerye man lamentethe the ſtate of hym, that ſayeth and declareth, he coulde not chooſe, and condempneth the complaynte of hym, that myght haue choſen. So as theſe two commen ſpeaches, I could not choſe, and might haue choſen, be woꝛthelye allowed amonge vs, whereby to excuſe oꝛ blame all oure doynges,

To our frende that is offended with our doing, we say I praye you blame me not, for in good sayth I coulde not chose. If you could not chose (sayeth the frende) I am not so fonde, to fall out with you, I wyll neuer blame a man (sayth he) for that he coulde not chose. Nowe on the other parte, he that leueth his occupation, to be a seruinge man, or selleth his lande, bicause he liketh better redy mony, or marieth for his lust, without godly consideration if that man can alledge nothynge, that shuld haue enforced his so doing and yet wyll grudge at his fortune accomptyng hym selfe miserable, he is put to silēce with these fewe wordes. Ye might haue chosen. It shalbe sayde to me parcase, that here is a lenge talke without scripture of, I myght chose, a, I coulde not chose. And some shall call it wilye wit, and some tanglynge sophistrie, and some haly water reasons, for with suche pretie wordes, the deuyl chereth his gestes, whome he feesteth with talkinge and tanglynge abrode in the worlde, wherwith to ouerwhelm the very truth. To the matter I say thus, that this peace of truth, of mans free choyse, to do good or euyll, confirmed in the scriptures, bycause it hath ben truely planted & roted in our common speache, I haue thought good, to stirre vp, the remembrauñce of it, by discussinge the commen speche to the intent when it appereth to agre with scripture, it may be more regarded, not bycause it is a commen speche, but bycause it is the truth of scripture, whereby the better

The deuil deuiseth to deprave euerye thinge with prety termes.

better to reſiſt, ſuch peruerſe doctrine, as ſome wolde perſwade to be in ſcripture of mere neceſſitie, vpon their wronge conſideration, of gods prouidence, election and predeſtination. Goddes ſecret iudgementes, I leaue vntouched, and god worketh after the purpoſe of his will. Whiche is mooſt iuſt. He calleth ſome in the morninge, ſome latter, and at diuerſe houres of the day, as the parable ſheweth, But to vs whome he calleth at the tyme of worſkinge, whiles it is daye, and hath endued vs with the giftes of reaſon & vnderſtandinge: If a ſynner myght ſaye to god for defence of his actuall ſynne, I coulde not choſe but do as I dyd (whiche no ſuch man can do) it were an excuſe for his ſynne. But bycauſe god may truely ſaye to the ſynner. Thou mighteſt haue choſen, therein is the confuſion, in euery ſynners conſcience. This ſpeach ſhall percaſe offende many. And ſome wil ſay, may not the infante, that periſheth in the mothers wombe, vnchriſtened, ſay to god, I coulde not chooſe? May not the childe borne, that dieth afore baptiſme, ſay, I coulde not choſe? And thoſe in ſuch countries as heare not of Chriſtes goſpell, may not they ſay, they could not choſe? & thē ſhal we allow (q they) this lawiers diuinitie of (I maye not choſe) for mannes allegacion to god, and graūt that all theſe be vpon this concluſion ſaued?

Herevnto I ſay, that I do not take vpon me, to laye before you, the platte of all goddes ſecrete worſkes, but as (ſaynt Johñ ſayth) that we haue

sene and harde, we testifie, and that god hath not opened let vs worship it, in silence. I intreat not in this place the state of infantes, ne of other, who in respecte of choyce be lyke vnto thē. Note of what sort of men I speake, & aske not of other, of whom I talke not. He was neuer good scoler, ỹ whiles his master taught him one thing, wold deuise to aske other impertinēt questions. A curiouse wit wolde not let me passe thus, but aske me, what say ye yet in deed, to such childrē, & such sort of men, what state be they in? be they not saued? & why do ye say they be not saued? In good fayth, I wyl make such an answer, as I wolde a greate meany (when they myght truly) wolde also playnly make. I can not tell (that is to say) in such matters as mans capacitie can not go through. And note here reader, what I adde here to, I say not, I can not tel, bicause I knowe nothing in the matter, but bicause, albeit there be some light, in thentrie of ỹ matter, yet it is darke within, & the speach of it maketh not to our edification, but only to norishe the curiositie of our desire, to knowe that we cā not cōprehēd. Scripture is euident, that he that is not baptized, shal not entre into heuen. Wherby I may say of their state, they be not saued. But thē to other questions that may arise, howe stand that with this or that, whereby to shewe the reason of gods secret iudgemētes. I can not tell. And herein the true confession of mans weaknes of capacitie, to cōprehend goddes secrecies, with cōfessing his ignorance

Here be two questions asked togither the firste for the secoūdes sake, for in the firste he answereth himselfe and douteth not of it.

noꝛaũce, and thaũſwer (I can not tel) doth much ſet furth our reuerẽce to his maieſty. And in this tyme of vaine gloꝛy in knowledge, it ſhal be as neceſſarie, to teache ignoꝛaunce, foꝛ therecluſiõ of arrogancy & pꝛeſũption, & planting of humilite, as hath ben in tyme of extreme darkenes, expediente, to ſet foꝛth knowledge to thincreaſe of gods gloꝛy. Both therꝛtremities haue lyke incõuenience. This ſaieng ſhal haue a ſkof that byſſhops wold teach ignoꝛaunce, foꝛ they teach mẽ none other leſſon (ſome wyl ſay) But when ſuch one hath well pleaſed him ſelfe in his ſkof, and reſt, he ſhall finde that I ſaye true, & him ſelfe to haue nede to lerne his ignoꝛaunce in this point. But to the matter, I ſpeake in this place, of fre choice of ſuch, as to whom god offreth his giftes being endued wꝺ grace, & maturitie of iudgemẽt to diſcerne thẽ, of ſuch I am lerned by ſcriptures to ſay ꝑ neceſſite oꝛ cõpulſion to miſchief, were their excuſe (if there were any) & their fredome of choice, their only cõfuſiõ to their cõdẽnatiõ. And ſo S. Paule teſtifieth in ꝑ. ix. chap. of his epiſtel to ꝑ Romanes, where he ſheweth that the Iewes were reiected, bicauſe they ſtũbled at ꝑ ſtũblyng ſtone, meaning chꝛiſt. And god ſaid by his ꝓphet Tota die expãdi manus meas, ad populũ nõ credẽtẽ & cõtradicẽtẽ, I haue (ſaith god) ſpꝛed abꝛode my handes ꝑ hole day, to a people not beleuing, & gainſaieng. So as god offring his help which is ſignified, by the ſpꝛeding abꝛode of his handes, if that ꝓple had choſẽ rather to be in ꝑ

houſe

house of their lorde god, then to dwel in ꝑ tentis of synners, they had ben receyued to saluacion,
In obiection we rede neuertheleſſe, that chriſt sayde to his apoſtels, ye haue not choſen me but I haue choſen you. In which speach it is to be noted that in comparinge together the doinge of god, with the cooperacion of man, nothinge is to be attributed to man in the speache, but all applyed to god, not bycauſe mans doinge is nothinge, but bycauſe it is nothinge in reſpecte of god. And when ſoeuer man, in the glory of goddes giftes, is compared fondely to god, all that man hath, vadeth and wanneth away, as the lyght of a candell, is not ſene, in the great lyght of a bryghte ſonne. And therefore ſcripture ſayth. Non uos eſtis qui loquimini, ſed ſpiritus patris ueſtri qui loquitur in uobis, whiche denyeth not, but they ſpake, but theffectuouſe & chefe doer in ꝑ speach was the holy ghoſt. And this alſo, may be commenly obſerued, that the fyrſt & principal thinge occupieth the name of the hole. And therefore bicauſe god choſeth vs fyrſt, and we can not choſe god, before he choſeth vs, and offreth vs grace to come to him, Chriſt in his speach trulye affirmed his choiſe, which was chiefe, principall, and foremeſt, and denied our choiſe which dependeth of it. And yet man being called to grace, and hauing by reaſon therof the way of lyfe offred him which no man is compelled to receyue, he maye in the receiuinge of it ſaye with the prophet Viã veritatis elegi. The greakes call this choſynge

of

of man(προαιρεσιν) which taken away, they saye man differeth not, from a beaste. And therefore the holly men of our religion, such as haue traueyled in thexpounding of scripture, do specially note, that no scripture, may be thought right vnderstanded wherby to take away mans free choyce, and thereby to confirme compulsion or absolute necessite, which both repugne therunto. And this facultie to chose, implieth also a discerninge of good from euyll, with a facultie to accepte either this or that. Here mannes frowarde reason, hath deuised this sophisticall argument? Can man choose heauen? euen as wysely spoken (saith a good felowe) as to say a man can chose to flye. And here commeth in scripture. The carnall man vnderstandeth not, any thinge of god, and howe shuld such one chose heauen? Brother (q̃ this godly reasoner) seest not howe wit trauaileth to drowne gods word? and blynd it with wittie deuises? I praye the note this (sayeth he) After the lyght of goddes worde, hath put oute their free will: nowe come they aboute the bussh agayne, with the name of free choice, and all is noth worth a greane chease. Beleue not the false doctrines of mannes inuention, Loke Paule, to the Ephesians, and there shalt thou fynde, that god hath chosen man, before the beginninge of the worlde. Kepe this in thy brest, what so euer they say, I vnderstand this englysh, as well as the best bysshop of them of all. And after this sorte some (I wolde they were a lesser some) do

handle this matter abrode, whom I wold gladly satisfye, and I trust coulde also, if they were indifferent, to haue the very truth haue place, rather then that they wolde haue truth. But to the mater, man can not of him selfe in deed, flye, no more then he can, without gods gyfte clyme to heauen. And yet scripture saith. Quis dabit michi pennas sicut columbe, et uolabo et requiescam: who shall geue me fethers, as it were of a doue, and I, shal flye and rest me? Thus Dauid enspired by god, desyred fethers to flye, whiche when they were offred hym, then Daupd might chose whether he wold vse them or no. Dauid knewe, without fethers, he coulde not flye, and also, when he had obteyned them, might chose whether he wold flye or no, but marke that I say further in ỹ parable of distribuciō of Talentes, he ỹ had but one talent & layed it vp, might haue vsed it, as thother did, but he misused his iudgement and layde it vp idelly. So as when thacompte was asked of hym, of that he had receyued, and vpon knowledge that it was layde vp idle, was asked, why he dyd not gyue the monp to vsurie? His aunswere was not that he layde it vp, bycause he coulde not choose, but he declared the reasons by hym deuised and excogitate whiche he sayde moued hym, to lay it vp, whereby appeareth, that as they, that had fyue Talentes, and might haue layed them vp, did chose to be industriouse and faythfull, and encrease theyr talentes, by exercise, and were of their lord

considered

conſidered thereafter, in lykewiſe he that was ſlouthfull and dyd choſe, to lay his Talent vp vdle, was of his lorde ſo taken and vſed accor-dyngelye. And here note well reader, and thou ſhalt percepue the craftye ſophiſtrye of the de-uyll, in the perſon of hym, that pretendeth ſim-plycitie. In the parable aforeſayde, theſe men to whom Talentes were gyuen could not choſe to haue the Talentes gyuen vnto them, for that was in the pleaſure of hym, that was lorde of the Talentes, hereunto all muſt agree where-in is reſembled goddes choyce. But when the owner of the Talentes, beynge at lyberty, to diſtribute or not diſtribute hys Talentes, had thought good and ſo choſen, to diſtribute the Talentes of his owne mere clemencye, to one moo, and an other leſſe, Then the receyuers of theſe Talentes, myght lykewyſe chooſe (as it appeareth they dydde) whether they wolde vſe them or no. For ſome of them dydde vſe them, and ſome dydde not. And here thou mayeſt ſee playnlye a reſemblaunce of goddes choyce that the ſelye ſoule ſpake of, and of oure choyce, whiche I haue intended here to intreate.

God choſeth to geue vnto vs his gyftes, and in that parte we haue no choyce, and then we chooſe, whether we wyll vſe the gyftes or no, and in this parte we haue free choyce, as appeareth, in declaracyon of this parable.

God choſeth and man chooſeth.

For in oure inclynatyon to good or euyll, there is neyther neceſſytye nor compulſyon. By-

fre wil in the ful signification, shulde implye free choyce.

Bitwene free wyll and free choice, I put no difference, but in the termes of free choice, whiche expresseth the greke and latin wordes. Liberum arbitrium, and προαίρεσιν, ỹ matter may be more clerely opened in my iudgement, For albeit free will and free choice, were ment to signifie one thinge, yet they that be more fine, in their considerations, by abuse of the wordes, from their ful signification, haue deuised, howe to graunt free wyll, bycause they sawe the worlde, so much abhorre the denial of it, and yet therewith, to defēd styll, their abhominable dreame, of mere necessitie, which mere necessitie, can in no wyse stande, with mannes fre choice, For necessitie signifieth one pointe and no mo, whereunto any thinge is directed. Nowe euery choice must be of twoo, at the least, for one hath no choise, so ashe that is necessitate to be dampned, hath no choice, ne he that is necessitate, to be saued, hath any choyce, and both these sortes of men, haue no free choice at all. But as for fre wyl, as we take it onely for a desirouse appetite, which is not the full signification of free will, may stand with necessitie, as in example a man beinge necessitate to dye (as euery man is) may also gladly, willingly and desirouslye, dye, as many haue done for christes sake, many for glory, many for werynes of their lyfe, And much more, if men were necessitate to be saued, they shulde gladly, willingly, and desirouslye, do the workes of saluacion. And so the Captaines of the secte haue, studied out a deuise howe

Necessite can not stande with free choyse.

A man maye wyll that is necessary, in some sense.

But not chose that is necessarye in any sense.

howe decepuynge men, in the signification of fre wyll, as though it signified no choyce at all but only a desirouse appetite, they haue graunted that man hath fre wyl to his saluacion, whiche they call a wyll newe create of god, to be desyrouse of saluacion, and therewith defende styll their mere necessitie, and therwithall say this also, that a good man, doth necessarilye well, and also freely well, and an euyll man, doth necessarily euyll, and freely nought. They saye also, that god doth compell no man, for compulsion (saye they) is contrary to free wyll, But not necessite, and for this they alledge the ethnyke philosopher Aristotell, bicause he may helpe forwarde, who considering, the natural partes of the soule sayth that uiolentum opponitur uoluntati, non necessitas. And yet Aristotell vseth such a worde, in the steade of uoluntas, as signifieth Lubentiam or libidinem, that is commen to man & beast and not uoluntatem which is proper to man, and yet thus they shyft in the wordes, to deceyue the simple, whom they wold seeme to desire, to teach goddes truth, and vnder pretence thereof, do sowe abrode the deuyls falshed. But Aristotell their author sayth, that absolute necessitie which is proprely necessitie, is contrary to fre choice, which man must haue, or he is no mã. And what a Sophisme is this to say, that a good mã doth necessarilie well, and an euyll man doth necessarilie euyl, and therewith say also that man is not compelled by god, to good or euyll. For euerye

Aristotell sprake the of ἑκούσιον, which is commen to man and beast, & so is not voluntas nor arbitrium.

mere neceſſitie that not can be eſchued, & is of it ſelfe a neceſſitie, doth enforce and compell al the meane cauſes, to do hym ſeruyce, for meere neceſſitie wyll be by no meanes diſapoynted. And it is ſayde therfore, that there is nothynge more violente, then neceſſitie abſolute. And marke wel theſe teachers, for in doctrine they conclude eche mannes ſaluacion or dampnacion vnder mere neceſſitie, and yet they ſaye, god compelleth no man. And then bicauſe the philoſopher ſayeth, that compulſyon onlye is contrarye, to free wyll, not neceſſitie, they ſay a good man doth frelye and neceſſarilye good, and an cuyll man frelye and neceſſarilye cuyll. And as they do in the wordes of free wyll ſo they playe in the worde (neceſſitie) whiche is taken two wayes. For there is a mere and abſolute neceſſitie, that the lerned men call neceſſitatem conſequentis and a condicionall neceſſitie, whiche the lerned men, call neceſſitatem conſequentie. As in this example, when I tell one he ſhall dye the corporall death. I tell hym a mere neceſſitie, for he ſhall nedes dye, and it dependeth nether of ifes, ner andes, ne cã not be auoided, but that neceſſitie of death compelleth all meane cauſes, to ſerue it neceſſarilye, to the accumplyſhment of it. Therefore I maye ſaye, It is merelye and abſolutelye neceſſary that thou ſhalte dye. And this is neceſſitas conſequentis, For the thynge is ordered preciſly ſo to be. But if I ſaye thus, Forbearynge thy foode, thou muſte neceſſarily

Nothynge more violent thē neceſſitie.

Neceſſitie, is taken twoo wayes.

dye

dye or it be longe, this neceſſytye is no mere neceſſytye, but dependeth vpon the condycyon, of the forbearynge thy foode, marye auoyde not the condicion, but lette that ſtande true, and then the neceſſitie foloweth. And of this ſorte of neceſſitie the gentyles, ſuche as hadde clearer vnderſtanding reputed that they called deſtine, fatum. As put thy fynger in the fyer, and it wyll neceſſarylye burne hauinge the naturall cauſe, no let of operacion. Nowe if it were aſked, whether thy fynger ſhoulde neceſſarilye burne, I muſt ſaye no, meanynge of a preciſe, abſolute, and mere neceſſytye, for thou neadeſte not put thy fynger in the fyre, and ſo the burnynge ſhalbe auoyded. But and yf thou putteſt thy fynger in the fyer, then of a condicional neceſſytye, it muſt neades burne. Nowe marke the ſophiſtrye of this ſecte, A good man (they ſaye) doth neceſſarylye good, and that is true, in a condicionall neceſſitie, For if he be a good man he muſte neades do well, for as ſone as he ceaſſeth to do good he is no lenger a good man, and ſo in an euyll man, he doth neceſſarylye euyll, for yf he dydde well, he were no more an euyll man. And this neceſſytye hathe in deede no compulſion, bycauſe the former parte of the ſpeache, is at lybertye without neceſſitie or compulſion, and the latter parte is made neceſſarye, by the maynetenaunce of the trueth in the fyrſt part. And therfore this ſpeach is true, Tho was beynge a good man doth neceſſarily well and

The ſophiſtry of ſuche as defende mere neceſſite.

and Johñ an eupll man doth neceſſarilie eupll: But this is not true, that Thomas, ſpeaking of the ſame Thomas, doth neceſſarily wel, or Johñ ſpeakinge of the ſame Johñ, doth neceſſarilye eupll. For there is no neceſſitie at all, in the matter, but vpon vpholdinge the truth of the condicion, which in theſe latter ſpeaches is lefte out. And thus I haue declared the difference of neceſſities, the one mere and abſolute, and ꝑ other condicionall, and I haue ſhewed howe the ſymple people not hauinge their ſenſes exerciſed, be decepued by ſuch as be the deuils apoſtels to ſeduce the worlde with intricacion of ſpeach, and lyke falſe marchauntes, ſhiftinge the wordes which be markes, from the ſignificacion of one thing to an other, by ſuche colors maintaine diſcorde and diſagrement in thoſe thinges wherin it were moſt expediente, men ſhulde agree. This matter of free choice hath mucye troubled the church, by reaſon of ſuch, as wolde preſume, to haue through knoweledge of all thynge after their diſcuſſion, and ſo entanglynge them ſelfe, with goddes high miſteries, haue ben authors of ſuch opinions, of mere neceſſitie, as not onlye impugne the hole proceſſe, of ſcripture, but alſo ſubuerteth all ſtaye of good direction, and endeuour, either to godly exerciſe, or politique behauour. It is the extremite of all miſchief, to ſaye that man can not choſe whether he wyl vſe gods giftes or no, when they be offred him, whiche is the time of mans choice (as afore) for we muſt be per-

perſuaded that as god giueth to man his giftes freelye without neceſſitie or compulſion: ſo man receyueth them freelye without neceſſitie or compulſion to vſe them. As for the high diuinite ye ſpeake of (mayſter Iope) I wyll not enquyre ye further of it, but wold wiſſhe that diuinite were ordered godlye, ſpoken of reuerentlye and ſemely, with feare of errour, with humble meke ſpirites, not arrogantly, not preſũptuouſly, not by way of ieſtinge, not by way of raylynge, not out of ſeaſon, nor amonges other paſtimes, to ſupply other cõmunication. Gregorye Nazianzene a noble Clercke of the greke church, ſcolemaſter to ſaynt Ierome, in whoſe tyme there were certayne called Eunomians, who affirmed there was no waye to heauen, but one, to talke of god, and diſpute of goddes workes. This Gregorye Nazianzene, noted thoſe men, of their itche in their tonge (as he calleth it) and ſheweth, howe they alledge ſcripture, as men do the chaunce of dyce, take that commeth fyrſt at all aduentures, he noteth them howe they troubled, all good aſſembles, with theyr talkes in ſcripture. And that talke waxed ſo common, that women alſo troubled their nourſeries therewith, and by occaſion of theyr talke, loſte as he ſayth, the floure of their ſhamefaſtnes. For whoſe reformacion at that tyme, he ſheweth that of God, neyther all ſhoulde be diſputed that myght be ſpoken, nor all men ſhulde ſpeake of hym, nor to all men, nor in all tymes, In ſpeakynge of god, he wolde

Conſidre what a leſſõ this is for our tyme.

 meus

mens capacitie, shalde be cõsidered. For the time (he sayth) we should not mingle the talke of god, at the tyme of other trifling pleasures. As for the audience, he woulde it were such as the speakynge of god myght edifie, For them that should talke, he wold wisshe them either perfectly clensed in their lyfe, or at the least such as endeuoured them selfe to amende in their lyfe, lest beinge fylthy and corrupt in liuinge, they shulde hurte them selfe, as he that hath sore eyes is hurte by sight of the sonne. This was the mynde of this good man, at that tyme, and when he had sayde thus much, he was afrayde they wold haue misrepo. ted him, that he forbad thẽ to thinke of god alwayes, For in such wise euyl disposed people, are wont to make misreport, of good aduertisement. And therefore (he sayth) I wold they should thinke of god, as oft as they breath, but I speake (qᵗ he) of talkynge, reasonynge and disputyng of god, which he calleth in one worde (θεολογῆν.) And yet I do not (qᵗ he) improue that, but the vntymelynes of it, and therecesse of it, And al thinge (qᵗ he) hath his tyme, as Salamon sayeth. And good is not good (as Gregory Nazianzene there sayeth) yf it be not well done. Is it semelye (qᵗ he) for a woman to were a mans garmente? And after in the same worke, do not saynt Paule saye, that all be not apostels? ne all prophetes, and fynallye concludeth the matter that yf the ytche of mennes tongues can not otherwyse be healed, but they muste neades talke, he bydeth

deth them talke of suche matters, as wherein an errour is without all daunger. Thus in effecte, sayeth Gregory Nazianzene, who, amonges some, yf he were here, myght perchase heare that he wolde be sorye for, and yet he for his hyghe learnynge in diuynitye, hathe ben honoured and celebrate by the name of Theologus, as exceadynge all other in knowelcdge of diuynytye. They that sawe the absurdytye ensuenge of the myslorder, hathe testyfyed it vnto vs, whome it is better to bylcue then by abiectynge theyr counsayle abyde the inconuenyence, whiche the churche then felte. It is nowe tyme, to returne to the discussion of the reste of youre booke, wherein it folowcth.

Forthe on Winchester. Ioy.

Faith must be to me the assurance of the promyses in god made in christ (if I fulfill the cõdicio) & loue must accõplisshe the cõdicio, wherupõ folowcth thatainmẽt of the promyse accordinge to Gods trweth. Vvin. ix. article.

Yet dare not he expresse his condicio, saying playnly. Faith assewereth me of the promise of god (if I fulfill the law) but Win. nor none els, but onely christ, fulfilled the law ergo nether Winch. nor any els, standing this condicio, shall neuer be assured of the promyse of God. Paule argueth a nother wayes excludinge the condicion that men mighte be the surer and certayner of the promyse. For if the promyse shuld stande of an vncertain, yea impossible condicion: who shalbe certayn and assured of the promyse? Thus argeweth Paule. By ỹ workes of ỹ lawe came not ỹ promise to Abraham Ioy.

or

or to his seade, him to be thayer of the world, but by the rightwise making by faith. For if thei þ wil be iustified by the workes be therfore made thayers, so is faith and beleue in vayne and the promyse voide and frustrate. For the lawe worketh but wrath, ergo it worketh no good workes to the ataynment of iustification. It worketh wrath for that it is impossible to be performed and accõplished of man which is fleshye as Paul constantly affirmeth, and therefore it wrappethe all the workers thereof to be iustifyed thereby, vnder the curse. For as manye as stande vpon the workis of the lawe to this ende euen for theiriustificaciõ are poked vnder execracion and tyed to the curse Gala. iii. For where is no law there is no transgression. Wherefore (Paul nowe concludeth agenste Win. saying) out of faith is þ heritage geuen, lyke as oute of grace, that the promyse mighte be the more ferme and sewerer vnto all the seade, not to it that is onely out of þ lawe, but also to it which is oute of the faith of Abraham. Paul in spirit did see before this Winchesters condicion to frustrate the promise and therfore he confuteth it here so clearely. And agein vnto the Galathẽs, If anye wolde obiecte saying, ergo the lawe is agẽste the promises. God forbid saith Paul, but if there had ben a lawe geuen which might haue geuen lyfe, then no doute iustificacion might haue comẽ by the lawe. But the scripture concluded all vnder synne that the promyse, the promyse (I saye) oute of the faithe of Jesu Chryste shoulde be geuen and not deserued to the beleuers. Thus ye se howe with so many wordes Paul excludeth Win. impossible condicion, to make fast the promyse in Christe that our fayth myght be the sewrer stayed and cleaue to it. If onely vnbelefe dãpneth, why shulde not onely fayth iustifye? it is a good argumente of contrarye. But yet because Win. wyndeth in his condicion so harde for the attaynement of his iustificacion by workis. I wold fayne se some one of his good workis so perfyt, pure without any carnal affect annexed, either of vaynglory or of loue to hym selfe or for feare of payne not done nor for hope of reward, or any lucre, promocion or to receyue a better thinge for the doinge thereof, out of so pure an herte that it be not done of any affeccion to the person, but onely of fayth and zeale for the glorye of

god

god and profit of his neighboure, or onely to mortify his owne affectes and to set naught by him self, to abnegate and renounce his estimacion and glory, to be renewed in spirite & to folowe christ meekely to death. Paul acknowlegeth him self, & complayneth in his most perfectiō not to be able to do that good whiche he wolde do, but to do that euyll which he wold not do. He durste not call in this condicion to attayne his iustificacion therby, but constantlye affirmed as many as stande vpon the workes of the lawe to fulfyll them, thereby to be iustified, are poked vnto the curse of the lawe sayeng. Cursed is euery man that abideth not in althynges writtē in the boke of the lawe to perfourme them. I wonder therefore that Win. dare stande vpon his condicion to be fulfilled to attayne any parte of his iustificacion thereby, Dare he clayme (thinke ye) any parte of his iustificaciō for burnynge of Doctor Barnes and his felows for preachinge agenst these wykedly armed articles? Tel vs Win. didst thou burne them so cruelly of loue and not of hatred or enuy? trwely loue burneth no man for preachinge the trueth, charite enuyeth not &c, Abi igitur post christum satana. Come bak deuyll after christe, thou art sclaūderous to his crosse, for beinge maried to thy nown wytte, thou sauourst not the heauenly and godly iustificacion, but suche one as naturall reason perswadeth amonge men, euen one good turne for a nother to be done, and so to deserue thy iustification. But be it in case, that Win. thus condicioninge with god hath in his owne opinion done some good deed whereby he dare clayme his iustificacion, yet shall not that same deed serue him to that taynement of that effecte. For were it neuer so good, yet doth his false opinion in his deed make it dampnable. But let vs speake of a good ded absolutely, excluded frō all carnall affectes (yf any man may do suche one) this deed is not our deed, but the deed of god worckinge it in vs, for what deed soeuer procedeth out of oure corrupte nature is naught. It is god sayth Paule that worketh in you accordynge to his good mynde both to wyll well, and also to perfourme your worke: Neyther are we apte and able to thinke so much as a good thought out of our owne selues, but all our ablenes commeth from God. And Isaye sayth, Lorde set peace amonge vs, for it is

thou that worketh and finisshest all thingis in vs bothe our thoughtis & deedesAnd therfore well sayd Austen. God crowneth i vs his own deedis& not owrs.Condicio not therfore(Wyn.)with god for your deedis,which(as all mē see them)ar but malice,mischeif,enuy,rāko, bitternes,bloud thirsting,pryde: cruell tyrannye, blasphemies,persecucion of christis innocente lombes & of his worde, deceytefully flateryng your prince, euill cownsell geuing to prouoke the wrathe of god vpon you all, & vpon that noble realme, sowing most pestilent heresyes yea & that wittingly which is$ synne agenst $ holy gost, which when al sinnes(be thei right grieuous)shalbe forgeuen,yet shall this your vngodly impiete be neuer forgeuen.

YetVvin ix. artclie Ioye.

YOu say that fayth is thasseuraunce of the promyse of forgeuenes of synnes.

If fayth be that same certitude and assured persuasiō as Paule saith,assuringe you of your iustificacion,why then adde you your vncertayne condicion wauerynge vpon your synfull works which as they be vnstable vnperfit and synne so can they neuer make you a quiet and tranquyll conscience,nor certifye you of your iustificacion, God so sayenge, Thou labourest in the multitude of thy nowne wayes and yet thoughtest thou them neuer enoughe. Adde no condicion on your behalf therfore (oh Wyn.)into your owne condempnacion.Christ neuer taught you to beleue vpon a condicion,but sayd symply and playnlye, Beleue and thou arte saued. Adde not to goddes worde, lest ye be condempned for a lyer. Winch. tolde Martyn Bucere that he and his wolde not receyue the doctours as Wyn,wolde, I coulde bring Austen Hierom Origene and many other autentyk writers agenst hym self, but let vs see whether he wyll beleue this one doctor saynt Ambrose, thus writinge vpon the fyrst pistle to the Corrinthes sayenge. This thinge is constituted of god that whoso beleue in christ he is saued without any worke, onely by fayth, freely receiuinge the remission of his sinnes. What can be spoken more plainlye? Nowe make an ende Wyn.and conclude your arrogant articles.

As

AS for your talke in ỹ lawe, it is not worth an hawe, for it is besides the matter, and before aunswered, my sayenges, ye can not improue, saynge that ye saye, I may not adde to gods word, wherevnto I wyll aunswere, that I adde not, but only marke and note what godes word conteyneth. And when I se so many tunes, yf, required of vs, I knowe none other englysh name, to signify what that is, but a cõdiciõ: And here let vs discusse, what we shal call addinge to gods word. If ye cal thinuencion of a new word wherby to discerne what is written in scripture, as I or you vnderstand it, an addicion to gods worde: then do you & al your secte, offende in deuising the wordes (office and correlatiue) to signifie what fayth doth, and howe it apprehendeth the promyse, which I thynke ỹ spirite wold not suffre you to do, if it were addynge to gods worde. Moreouer I thinke ye call not addynge to gods worde thadding of an other language wherin to expresse gods word, by other sillables then it was fyrste spoken in. For then were the worlde on both partes, in a great offence, beinge gods word translate into so many tongues, nothinge lyke the originall tongues of Greke or Hebrue. Whereby appeareth, that beinge the true sense kept hole, and entier, the letters and sillables may be altered without daunger, as the language requireth, and without any contradiction of this texte, for not adding to gods worde. Furthermore yf therplayninge and opening,

V vinton

A discussion what is adding to gods worde

ninge of ſcripture, with mo wordes in the ſame Language with ſimilitudes alſo, to gyue more lyght to the true ſenſe, ye meane to declare, were addinge to gods worde, I am ſure ye wolde not haue trauailed ſo much in therpoſicions of ſcriptures, as ye haue done, in your ſundry bookes, And ſpecially, where ye make a drinking of chriſtes holly ſupper, ne haue vſed the ſimilitude ye haue done, of the ſonne and fyre, for declaracion of the ſecrete worckynge, of fayth alone, yf ye had taken that, for addynge to gods worde. When ye raple of me vncharitably and deuiſe for your purpoſe, that is not true, we can not cal that, addynge to gods word, that is all beſides it and contrary to goddes word. When I ſaye to you that it is pitie to ſee, the gyftes of learninge in you and many other ſo abuſed and abhominacion moſt deteſtable, to ſe the pretence of goddes worde, to couer ſo many deuelyſhe and deteſtable wordes of ſlaunder malice, miſchief and hereſy, wil you ſay that I adde to gods word herein bycauſe it is not there directly ſpoken of you: ye can not truely. For albeit, it be not ſpecially written of you, yet bycauſe of a generall warraunt of ſcripture, that we may ſay and wryte, that is truth, and edifieth, ye can not ſay I adde herein vnto goddes worde, but accordynge to gods worde ſay truthe. And ſo lykewyſe in euery other iuſte honeſt and holy thynge. Who then doth adde to gods worde? Only he that calleth ſcripture whiche is not ſcripture, or reporteth

the

the lence of gods ſcripture amiſſe. For ſuche one frameth hym ſelfe an ydoll in his owne fantaſye, and worſhippeth it for gods truth falſely. Such men adde to goddes worde and repoꝛt not god truely, and therfoꝛe (as the texte ſayeth) ſhall be cõdempned as lyers. And this is the true vnderſtandinge of this text bꝛought in by you. Adde not to gods worde. Whiche I haue harde many tymes vſed, lyke a key to cleue logges, and therefoꝛe haue diſcourſed thunderſtandynge of it. As for the ſayeng of ſaint Ambroſe, maketh nothing agaynſt myne article, For in the begynnynge when the contencion was betwene chriſt & Moiſes lawe, by fayth was ſignified hole chryſt, and by wokes the law of Moyſes, and in this ſtrife where fayth and wokes ſtoode in cõtencion one agaynſt another, the ſpeache onelye fayth, was ſpoken of that good faith, only to exclude Moyſes lawe, with the receyuynge oꝛ not receyuinge, wherof chriſtẽdome was troubled. For els onely dyd neuer exclude the familiar companye of fayth with charitie that ſtoode of the ſame ſyde ỹ faith doth. And ſo you your ſelf vnderſtand it, that charitie is there and not excluded. And the pꝛeciſe woꝛdes (without any woꝛke) exclude only the woꝛkes of the lawe, for the woꝛkes of receyuinge and vſinge the giftes of fayth, and loue, muſt nedes be there as is befoꝛe declared. And nowe to the artycle that foloweth in your boke, which article ye call myne, and I am very glad ſo to take it, it foloweth thus.

Vvin. x. article. A man beynge in deadly synne, may haue grace to do the woꝛkes of penaunce, wheꝛeby he may atteyne to his iustificacion.

Ioye. And I say the contrary. That man a beinge in deedly synne may haue no grace to do the woꝛkes of penaunce, as I feaꝛe me it wyll be veꝛified of Win. him selfe. But the Loꝛd conuerte him once so that all men maye se his open fruites of repentaunce foꝛ his greuous persecution of Chꝛistes membꝛes and heare hym openly with teaꝛes recantynge his false doctrine wheꝛeby he hath seduced many a synple soule. This is so, his doctrine, A man must do the woꝛkes of penaunce before he be iustifyed and so by such woꝛkes merite and deserue his iustificacion and foꝛgeuenes of synnes. Here thou seest (christen reader) that such a man hath no nede of christes death, but foꝛ such men (sayth Paul) christ is deade in vayne. Thus ye se the conclusion of his articles to be. That he may do wel before he be iustified. But (as I said before) it behoueth a lerned diuine to cõclude what ought to be done, and what god wylleth to be beleued by his manifest woꝛde, and not what Wynch. maye do by his owne blynde reasoninge without gods woꝛde. He may do wel by the gyft of god (sayth he) whiche is fayth, ergo his fayth goeth before his wel doing and his iustificacion, and his good woꝛks must be thꝛust betwixt both (if the place be not to naꝛow foꝛ thẽ) so ꝓ he hauing his faith & his good woꝛkes, is not as yet iustified neyther by his fayth noꝛ by his good woꝛkes, foꝛ they must seruе hym but towaꝛde the attaynmente to his iustificacion. Paule and Chꝛist, ioyned faith and iustificacion euer inseparably togither: but this scismatyke iewish Hieroboam & deuillish deuider of al christẽ vnite wyl thꝛust his good woꝛks betwixt them, not suffringe fayth to cleaue to immediatly her owne obiecte, euen the mercy of god pꝛomising remyssion of synnes in chꝛistes death. He wolde thꝛust in here the woꝛks of penaunce before iustificacion which thinge how folish it is ye shall se. Fyꝛst, ye know that penaunce must go before her woꝛkes as is the tree before her fruites. Penaunce is a turninge to god, wherby of the syncere feare of god a man humbled acknowelegeth his sinne, and so al his whol life he maketh new.

Who

Who turneth to god, but he fyrst beleue and knoweth god for christes sake to be so mercyfull vnto hym that at his turninge to hym he receyueth him & forgeueth hym his synnes: which fayth and knowledge what els is it thē his iustificatiō, god the father so affirming it in his prophet Ysaye sayenge. In the knowledge of hym this euen my seruaunt shal iustify many. Here ye se that this knowelege and fayth iustifieth before the workes of penaunce are done. For God is knowen in Christe ere we turne to him of the which turninge to god there folowe the frutes of repentance in doinge them all oure lyfe longe, as to feare god, to humble our selfe, to confesse our synnes to him and to renewe our lyues, mortifying continually e our flesshe.

TO this article your aūswer is peremptory, and ye trauerse the matter so playnly after the lawyers pledynge, as you haue fashioned it mete to be remitted vnto the country. And herein I shall speake to you agayne, somewhat lyke a lawier, Ye handle me in your aūswer lyke one of your secte, and do the world vnderstand hereby, whervnto this vnreuerēt reasoning, disputing, & talkinge of goddes truth wil come to at ỳ last, that is to say, to diuision, debate, hatred & strife, when in that all shulde saye one, eche shall aunswere other, as ye do nowe me, with, I saye the contrary. And so learninge is all paste, and the matter restith vpon twelue men, wherein ye labour the countre as faste as ye maye. And ye flatter the worlde with lycentiouse doctrine, and offer them to pull frome theyr neckes, all suche yokes as ye thynke dyd at any tyme let or impeche them eyther in thought or dede, Ye promise them libertie of al thyng. And then to ridde V vintoñ

them out of dette, ye translate saint Paule thus, that we owe nothynge to no man but loue. Ye flatter the couetouse maister with pulling away holy dayes, that he maye haue the more worke done hym for his yeres wages. Ye flatter again the seruaunt with pullinge awaye al opinion of faste by abstinence from any meat either in lent or otherwise. Ye offer priestes wyues to wytte and they can wynne them to you. Ye ridde all of confessyon, and wepyng for synne. Ye take away distinction and difference of apparell, dayes, tymes, and places. Ye take away ceremonies whiche in dede do much let good chere in assemblyes of good felowes. Ye geue women courage and libertie to talke at their pleasure so it be of gods worde, and to make the husband amendes for that encombrye, ye teach men secretly, and so as you may denye it agayne if nede be, tyll it be time to come abrode, that they may haue as lawfully two wyues at ones, as one, so they wyll fynde them both, I do not herein fayne or lye, for I knowe they haue not written in anye matter more seriously ne more fondelye (but yet malicyously and vntrulye) then to proue it lawfull for a man to haue two wyues at ones though the fyrst be neuer so chaste. And so when women be so ernest to set forth your enterpryse, they be suffred of god for punyshment to worke there own confusiō. And after that same sorte by other intisementes lerned men, to depraue lerninge. and prestes to trauayle, to destroy prysthode. And in

this

this wise for punishment of our sinne, eche parte laboureth by a meane to scourge and trouble theyr owne astate. And in the meane tyme your secte hopeth to wynne the countrey, and therefore the postelles of youre secte although they preach not much nowe a days yet they write diligently, and sende the bookes abrode buselye with, Venite, emite, absq; argento, and in signification ye call men to fredome, ye giue your bokes abrode freely, wt all such alluremẽtes as may serue to make the countrie yours, and suche as shulde giue cuidence agaynst you, them ye depraue and blaspheme, with all kynde of byllany wherewith to distroy theyr credite in so muche as among you, a bysshop or a preist hath a newe sence in englysh, to signifie a knaue. Ye haue a great while awayted to haue the panel retorned, but the kinges most excellent maiestye who hath the high shiriffes office in his hande vnder god, coulde neuer yet be induced to retorne the Jury as ye wolde haue it. And therefore I haue seene you often tymes fall in a non sute, and lyen styll in wayte, as they that haue euel tythes to landes to haue the shirif for your purpose. Howe saye you now, haue I not commened with you lyke a lawier? and truelye declared the councelles of your secte, wherein ye conspire, Aduersus dominum et aduersus christum eius? I wold lawiers had always their tables told them of their clientes so truely as I haue tolde this, and then the worlde shulde not be troubled with so manye

Thenglysshe of this latin, dominum et christũ, is god & the kynge.

longe ſutes as it nowis. But nowe to your contrarieng of me which ye faſhion thus And I ſaye the contrarye. If I were lyke you I ſhulde ſaye agayne, Nay and I ſay the contrarye to you. And then thicker, you lye and you lye, and I can tell as well as you, and I as welle as you. And ſhall this fruyte growe of goddes woꝛde? and ſo you wyll haue this bꝛoughte agayne of the pꝛimatiue church, that our hearers and readers of our bokes ſhal ſay I beleue Joye, and I beleue Wynchester. Ego Cephe, Ego pauli, but yet to auoyde ſome parte of that inconuenience, men haue deuiſed to ſay, nowe I beleue not Luther, noꝛ Melanctō, noꝛ Bewcer, noꝛ Swinglius, noꝛ Joye, noꝛ Turnoꝛ. And call them (foꝛ the tyme) knaues, foꝛ Maledictus qui confidit in homine, but I beleue (ꝙ he) goddes holy woꝛdes whiche can not lye as men do. And ſhal I not beleue the woꝛdes of the byble? I knowe what edifieth me, thankes be to the loꝛde of his gyfte, my conſcience telleth me what is good, and no man ſhall bꝛynge me frō that god teacheth me by his holly ſpirite. Nowe ye wyll aſke me. And is not this well ſayde? Uerelye if man were neuer deceyued, in the true ſence of goddes woꝛde, and were aſſured that God in deede taughte hym by his holy ſpirite the aunſwer were graue, but when ſo many many errours are arriſen in the ſence of goddes holye woꝛde, and the deuyll may and hath tranſfoꝛmed hym ſelfe into the aungell of lyght, ſuch ſpeach in communicacion is beſides

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the purpose. For men dout not whether goddes holye worde is to be beleued, but what is the sence of goddes holy worde. And the maner of speache akoresayde, beinge so precise serueth rather, as ashes, to couer fier, tokepe an error close, then with sober cõmunication eche man mistrustinge his owne learning, to trye out what other men whose spirite is commended vnto vs, haue by one consente lefte wrytten: and testified what they vnderstande in the matter. Mary you maister Iope, I praye you pardonne me, for yt god hath so made you of his secrete counsell, that ye can tell what Chryste thoughte (as ye haue before arrogantlye affyrmed) ye may speake for so muche with more aucthorite, then anye other. But let vs cõsyder ones agayn your (And I saye the contrarye) for albeit ye saye so in summe yet when ye declare youre selfe afterwarde, some wolde conster ye sayde otherwise, and that whether ye wyll or no ye agree with me. For when you call penaunce a turnynge to god, your sayenge implieth, that before such a man as turneth by penaunce dyd by goddes callyng turne, that man was oute of goddes fauour not iustyfyed but turned from god, and after that by grace turneth, whiche ye call penaunce. So as yf ye maye be so vnderstanded, ye saye that a man beynge a synner maye haue grace to turne. The difference yt we vnderstande you thus, betwene you and me is, that you expresse the worke of penaunce, whyche ye call turnynge, And I speake

speake of the wo;ke of penaunce in general, and yet I haue not contended with you, what be the wo;kes of penaũce. And fo; ought I here of you in the wo;kes of penaunce, I shall not contende with you muche but agree with you fo; all this bablynge, that turninge to god is the wo;ke of penaunce, so it be a hole turne, whereof scripture speaketh, with a mannes hole harte in fastinge, weppynge, and waylynge, and as the church hath declared our turnynge shulde be, and not halfe a turne, as some of your scoole teache and amõges all, your turning Turno;, whom god turne into the right waye. But afterwarde ye handle your to;minge otherwyse & wyl so vnderstande your turninge, as a synner shuld be iustified, be-fo;e he doth turne, wherein you turne the matter so aboute, as it is inexplicable, fo; by you a synner turneth not, as your speache purpo;teth, but a man that was a synner, now beleuing and iustified hauinge his synnes fo;geuen turneth, and so, he that is turned all ready in iustificacion, and yet remaynyng thã turneth agayn in penaunce, and then the seconde turninge shulde be from god, yf the turninge in iustificacion were to god, as it muste needes be, fo; in remyssyon of synne and iustificacion god turneth man to him. And so the playne man, whom ye take vpon you to teache playnly, wolde vnderstand it. Fo; when ye say that a sinner be-fo;e his turninge by penaunce beleueth and is iustified, that is one turne, where he was be-fo;e from god, now to be

towardes

towardes hym. And then if there be yet after a turninge againe in penaunce, that turning must nedes be from god. For a seconde turne must nedes be contrarie to the fyrste, as a symple man aunswered when one tolde him the worlde was turned. Then (quod he) all is well, for I harde my graundfather say, in his tyme, the worlde was turned, And then the worlde was nought. And therfore by the seconde turne he concludeth, it shuld be good. For in two turnes one succeding a nother, if the fyrste be one waye, the second is a nother. And yet you wolde haue a sinner first iustified by fayth wherein he is turned to god, and then turne by penaunce. If ye wolde cal me now Pelagian, bicause I shulde speake as thoughe man myght turne of hym selfe without beleefe, then I wolde say ye spake as besemeth the person ye mayntayne, I haue lerned and thereafter speake, that a synner can not turne without the grace of god, which god distributeth by degrees, as the sonne sheweth her selfe in the morynge, in whome there is encrease by successe tyll the sonne come to the highest at noone. Men fall sodenlye downe the hyll from god, but they be drawen vp the hyll to hym by degrees. And the degrees of helth be signified in ỹ miracle of christ, of the blynde man, to whom christ restored not his perfitte syghte at ones, but by degrees. We preache to men to ryse in the morynge, orto iam sole, for Vanum est ante lucem surgere, and ye bydde men lye styll, whyle it be noone, that

the sonne be at the highest, and this causeth your fonde stoicall scoole of extremities, which admitteth no meane. I haue ben somewhat mery with you for my owne relefe, beinge vexed and weryed with your fonde talke, which is suche as maketh only a confusion of ẏ ye speake of without frute or edifieng. And yet I can not pretermit, to note somewhat in youre iustificacion, whiche ye declare thus.

Ioye.

Nowe let vs see the order of our iustificacion before god according to the scriptures. Firste (saith Paul) we are chosen of God in christe before the foundacion of the worlde was layde, And when we be borne anew of the spirit we ar called to receiue faith Joan. i and. i. Joā. v. which gifte of faith certifyeth vs of our elecciō, geuing vs the knowlege of god ẏ father in, & by Christe. Which knowlege, as nothing can be sayd breiflyer so is there nothing more excellent, sweter, more full and perfit, holsomer, more comfortable & ioyouse. For when I knowe god the father in christe, by ẏ holygost, I know these. iii. persons to be the onelye one God, ẏ most highe goodnes, hauing his beinge of him self & all other creatures to haue their being, lyfe, and mouing of him, euē that one alone my very liuinge God for me & for all sufficiente, mericful, benigne, louing, almighty to me, my deliuerer, defender, and keper, long suffring, iuste, true, my present sauiour and forgeuer of my synnes, geuing me frely for christes sake eternal life and beatitude. In this knowledge of my celestial father am I fermely perswaded, Christ Jesu his onely sonne bothe god & man to be sente for my sake into this world to be ẏ anointed Messias, kinge & preiste, to be my gouerner, deliuerer, auenger, defender, my head, redemer by his passion, mediatour, my clensinge sacrifice, once for me and for all faithfull for euer offred vp on ẏ crosse, my onely intercessour now into heuē ascended, my holines, myne expiacion, my rightwisenes, helth, way, life, & satisfaccion satisfyinge

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my fathers iustice for my sinnes neuer to be imputed to me for my onely faiths sake dayly iustifying and absoluing me, continually reuiuing me with his holy spirit, anoyntinge me with the grace of the holy gost: so that nowe I by his mercye & grace being in christe his elect, might walke dayly in good workes, pleasinge my celestiall father vnto this knowledge and beleef, he calleth all his chosen for whome he hath forsene, predestined, & chosen, them hath he called by his worde and creacion of this world, vnto this fayth and knowlege, and whom he thus called, the same hath he iustified, and whom he hath iustified, them hath he glorified.

IN the processe of your iustification first ye saye saynt Paule saith, we be chosen of god in christ, before the foundacion of the world was layde, which be the wordes of the appostle. And here ye make a true entrye, Then ye saye that in the first chapter of saynt Johns gospell, and the first epistle the fyfte chapter of saynt John, it is conteyned, that when we be borne anewe of the spyryte we are called to receyue fayth. If you can iustifie this to be true I wyll not further impugne youre iustyfycatyon, But youre allegacyon of this scrypture, is lyke the spellynge of a ponge stryppelynge, Jones wente aboute to teache to reade, He wolde neades spel backeward, (A.b.) he spelled it Ba. a (B.A.) Ab. The scripture ye allege, sayth. He that beleeueth is borne of god, and ye saye, we be borne of god to receyue beleefe. Scripture placeth fayth in ordre before the byrthe, not in proporcyon of tyme, but in naturall ordre. And ye place it after, as it were also in the dystaunce of tyme. V vinton

The wordes of the scripture in the gospell of saynt Johñ be, that so many as receyue chriſte haue power gyuen them, to be the sonnes of god ſuche as beleue in his name, who be not borne of the bloodes, nor the wyl of man, but be borne of god. By this texte, to be the sonne of god, faythe muſt neades go before. The wordes of the epyſtle be theſe. Euerye man that beleueth that Jeſus is Chriſt, is borne of god, Is not fayth placed here, in the order of the text, before the byrth, as a declaration whereby to knowe what is ſignified by this to be borne of god, that is to say, to beleue that Jeſus is chriſt? Not to beleue in tongue, as saynt Johñ sayth, but to beleue in worckynge that is beleued. Chriſte teaching Nichodemus our regeneracion and ſeconde natiuitie of god sayth: Niſi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et ſpiritu ſancto, non poteſt introire in regnũ dei, Which natiuite is miniſtred in the ſacrament of baptiſme, And in thactes of thappoſtles, when ỹ Enuche deſired to be partaker of this regeneracion and to be borne of god and sayde, Here is water what letteth me to be baptiſed? Philyppe sayde to the Enuche, If thou beleueſt with al thy hart thou maieſt. And thenuche aũſwered, I beleue Jeſus Chriſte to be the sonne of god. And ſo was thenuche baptiſed, whiche forme of baptiſme the churche obſerueth ſtyll, in the chriſteninge of Infants offred to chriſt in the fayth catholique and of their parentes. And accordinge to this declaration the wordes of saynt Johñs

epiſtle

epistle be, that eche man who beleueth that Jesus is Christ, is borne of god, not excludinge the sacrament of baptisme, but declaringe, that the foundacion of our regeneracion, is this fayth, where saynt Johñ in a fewe wordes reuerentlye foldeth vp the hole misterye of oure fayth. By your interpretacion, ye wolde haue men firste borne the childzen of god, & then to receyue faith. But Philyp expoundeth it, that we receiue faith to be borne the chyldzen of god, and therefore requireth it before the regeneracion, and semblable in other matters, scripture preacheth penaunce to obtayne remission of synne, and ye teache remission of synne whereby to come to penaunce. Scripture sayth, & we do not forgiue our neighbour, god wyll not forgiue vs. You teache that god must fyrste forgiue vs, and then we to forgyue our neighbour. Christ calleth vs to him to be vnburdened of our synne, And ye teache ẏ we be vnburdened of our synne or we come at him. And so throughlye ye teache chryst backeward. Scripture neuer taught him after that sort, and yet ye call vpon other for scripture, and then ye wyll haue scripture playne as it is written, to be vnderstanded streyght of al men at the fyrst reading, which bearyng in hãde of plainnes, with a desire ẏ mãs curiouse nature hath to knowlege, or for want therof to be seen to haue knowledge, the number that readeth after you, saith they vnderstand, as ye do. And if suche one can say, only fayth iustifieth, and a preist is a knaue, the masse

is not in scripture, and an Image is an idole, ye prayse so much the lord in him, & reioyse so much as in a proselite, that ye make him rūne, through the scripture, in thicke and thinne, euen tyl he cō-meth to predestinacion, and further to gods pro-uidence, that some be so blinded at ỹ last, as they call al in doubte. Ye be your selfe blynde, in ma-lice, and take vpō you to be leaders of the blind, and so tumble al together, in the pyt of erro, wt the miserable destruction of soule and body. Let vs returne agayn to ỹ scripture ye haue brought in, which (ye say) signifieth, that whē we be borne a new of the spirit, we be called to receyue faith, The wordes of the scripture be. Eche man that beleueth, that Iesus is christ, is borne of god, If ye wolde herein resort to grāmer, & say, bycause (natus est) is written in the preterperfitetence, & (credit) is writen in the presentence, and ther vpō fansy, ỹ (natus est) must be before (credit) I must aunswer you agayn by grāmer, that the preter-perfitetens, in laten signifieth ỹ presentens as wel as the pretertens, for philophers affirme, by reason of the cōtinuall mouing & that tyme euer passeth, nothing is properly preset, but only god And for declaracio that the pretertēce, signifieth the preset, euery verbe passiue & deponēte, bor-weth in his preterperfittens, of the verbe substā tiue, to ioyne with his participle, both (est) & (fuit) so as (natus est) is properly, ỹ present perfitetens and (natus fuit) the preterperfittens. Now if the translatio had been (natus fuit) thē the grammer wold

This parte is onlye to Iape, that did before oppose me in my grammer

wold somewhat haue holpe, to wrangle with al, And I wold thē, haue resorted only, to the declaracio of Philip to thenuche, which Philip was no papiste, nor lawer as I woldc haue resorted also, to christes wordes, Qui crediderit, & baptizatus fuerit, which placeth faith, before baptisme ỹ sacrament of byrth of ỹ spirite, as ye speake, in newe englysh, and of the holly goost as the olde englisch turned it, and of god, as the scripture by you brought, in speaketh it, And I doubt not but Christ, thought in these wordes, euē as he spake, bicause ye meddle wt christes thoughtes, & according therunto, wt the same order instructed Philip to baptise thenuche. And yet ones agayne to your scripture, ỹ alloweth not your report, of it. The scripture is, Euerye man that beleueth Jesus is Christ, is borne of god. This hath the same sence, ỹ S. Paule spake, in other wordes. No man can say or speake our lord Jesu christ, but in ỹ holly ghost, when saynt Peter also confessed christ, to be the sōne of god. Christ sayd, that flesh & blood, had not reueled that vnto him, but his father, ỹ is in heauē. And so in this place, Euery mā that beleueth Jesus to be christ, hath ỹ beleue of god, which hauing of god, is spoken in the termes of byrth of god. He is borne of god, to signifie ỹ sacrament of baptisme, wherein we be regenerate of water & the holly ghost after christes teaching, whome god badde vs heare, and therewith beware of you, that teache Christ, not as ye haue learned in scripture, but after your owne pina-

gnati-

ons. For when there maye be anye reſemblaunce, in the rude conſyderacyon of ỹ ſymple mã, mete to agre with your peruerſe interpretacion, ye do eaſely ſeduce him, to allowe your fanſye. As in this texte, when ye reade, he that beleueth Jeſus is Chriſte, is borne of god, ye cauſe the rude man to note fyrſt a byrth of god, and then a beleuinge and ſomewhat lyke thereunto. We in common ſpeache ſaye, (he that foloweth me, is my ſeruaunt). In this ſpeach is a playne vnderſtandinge, that the man was my ſeruaunt before he folowed me, So as the reſemblaunce of this ſpeache, to the other of ſcripture, cauſeth ſymple folke, eaſely to agree to your expoſicion, that by that texte of ſcripture, it ſhulde appeare, that a man is fyrſt borne of god, before he beleueth, bycauſe the one ſpeache is lyke the other. And whē the vnlerned, by you be ledde into this errour, then the pryde of a preſumptuouſe knoweledge maketh them obſtinatelye to defende it, and call all other knowledge, wherby they ſhuld be ridde of their errour, iuglynge and ſophiſtrie, mannes inuentions, and ſuch other peuiſſhe wordes, as men be encombred to heare, onles they wolde make goddes worde, the matter of the deuylles ſtrife. Thinke me not tediouſe (good reader) that I tary, in this matter, to open and ſhewe, howe one faſhion of ſpeache in englyſh, receyueth diuerſe interpretacion, by reaſon of the ordre of the mater, that is knit togither. For when I ſaye (he that foloweth me is my ſeruaūt) the ſpeache im-

In englyſſh ſpeches that ſyme of one faſhion, is a great diuerſi te of ſenſe.

por-

poꝛteth that he was my ſeruaunte beꝺoꝛe he ſo=
lowed me. But in an other matter knytte in the
ſame faſſhion of ſpeache when I ſay(he that co=
uenaũteth to ſerue me is my ſeruaũt)this ſpeach
ſignifieth not,that he was beꝺoꝛe my ſeruaunte,
and thẽ couenaunted,but that by this couenaũt,
he is made nowe my ſeruaunt, and was not be=
foꝛe. In the other ſpeache, he was my ſeruaunt,
oꝛ he folowed me, & in this laſt ſpeache, we muſt
vnderſtand,that he dyd couenaunt, oꝛ he were
my ſeruaunte. And what reaſon of diuerſitie in
theſe two? Marye in the fyꝛſte ſpeache, I ioyne
that is out of all kinde of cauſes,to theffecte, as
to folowe me is no cauſe to be my ſeruaunt, but
rather enſueth of ſeruice. But in the ſeconde I
ioyne a kinde of cauſe with theffecte, And then I
may not ſay theffecte was beꝺoꝛe the cauſe, and
therefoꝛe in aſmuche as a couenaunt, is of the
kinde of cauſes, to make him my ſeruaunte: I
may not by the lyke faſſhion of ſpeache, deceaue
my ſelf,and ſay, bycauſe in ỹ one ſpeache it was
not true, where I ſayde(he that foloweth me is
my ſeruaunt) that he was my ſeruaunt beꝺoꝛe he
folowed me: I muſt theꝛefoꝛe in this ſpeache (he
that couenaunteth to ſerue me, is my ſeruaunt)
ſay alſo that he was my ſeruaunte, beꝺoꝛe he co=
uenaunted with me. Now bicauſe in the ſpeache
of ſcripture, whiche is. Eche man that beleueth
Ieſus to be chꝛiſt,is boꝛne of god, there is ioy=
ned,of the kynde of cauſes, that is to ſaye(to be=
leue)with theffect,whiche is, to be boꝛne of god,

I may not say, we be borne of god, or we beleue, but that we beleue, or we be borne of god. And this resembleth that englysh speache, before declared. He that couenaunteth to serue me, is my seruaunt, But if the scripture were thus, He that shalbe saued, is borne of god, the vnderstanding must needes be, that we be borne of god, or we be saued. For this is like ỹ other speache in english, (he that foloweth me is my seruaunt) which implieth that he was my seruaunt, or he folowed me, which diuerse consideracion arriseth vpon the diuersitie of placynge theffecte before the cause, or the cause before the effecte. And he that doth not marke this, may easely saye, an horsempll, for a mylhorse, and in the mistakinge of the sence of the scriptures, all heresies be grounded, and they that be in that darkenes, subuerted in their iudgement, can not abyde the lyght of the truth, and meanes to discerne it, but be learned to abhorre, that shoulde cleare the matter, and call their darknes, lyght, and the verye lyghte, darkenes. But (good reader) consider agayne & agayne, what Ioye gathereth of the scripture, howe vntrulye he gathereth it, & by what sleight he conueieth it, into the heades of the ignorãt, that take him for a great maister. He sayth, we be borne of god, and so called to receyue beleef, where in deade we be called to receyue beleefe, wherewith, but not with it alone, but with it as foundacion, to be borne of god, For he that is borne of god, we shall not saye, he is called to re-

cepue

ceyue faith, but in his byrthe of god, hath receyued it all readye, without which, he is not borne of God. For fide purificat deus corda, as saynte Paule saith, and yet you wold teache, that mens hartes were purified by byrth in god or they receyued faith. For if a man, be borne of god, olde Adam, is cast awaye, the weight of synne is vnladen, mās state is recreate and renued, Et quod natum est ex spiritu, spiritus est, and yet by you, man is brought to this state, or he knoweth god, for hitherto he is but called to receyue fayth, by your teachinge, whereby he commeth to lyght of knowlege, if we wyll giue credit vnto you, who declare your self herein, a maister of errour, perniciously to seduce the people, frome the true teachinge of the catholique churche, vsinge the scriptures, as boyes do in grāmer scoole. Quid est latinū propter, for their excuse, and then iangle after in englysh, as longe as they list. Ye cry scripture, scripture, and in deade speake nothing but the idole of your owne imaginaciō. And bicause you haue so peruersly & vntruly recited the sense of the scripture. Jo. i. and. i. Jo. v. as I haue declared, and yet ye make that vntruth for a principall part of your matter to declare your iustification, and incontinently after a trueth, choppe in a lye: I wyll not passe it ouer, but here make a staye, & desire the reader, to marke, that here ye go out of the high way of the truth, and therfore, in that that foloweth, breake vp hedges, and leape ouer diches, trauayling, in a

roughe and an vnleueled matter, for want of the playnnes and smothenes of the truth. How standeth it I praye you together, that a man is borne of god, to be called to faythe, and yet hathe forgyuenes of synne imputed vnto hym, for only faythes sake: seing the byrth of god implyeth forgiuenes of synne, which byrth, ye saye is wrought before faith receyued. Note this (reader) I pray the, and also this that he saith, sinnes be not imputed, for onelye faithes sake. Are ye come to this nowe, to encourage your beleuers, that onely faith, hath worthynes, for the owne sake, to obteyne remission of synnes? It is an other matter to say, by beleke onlye, men obtayne remission of synne, as your secte sayeth, then to speake as you do, for onelye faithes sake, after whiche sort, they neyther spake ne ment, that put meritum de congruo, et de condigno, whiche ye wyll iest at, although ye vnderstand it not, and so muche the sooner, bicause ye knowe not what it meaneth. Christ (by you) deuideth his glory in remission of synne, with beleuers, so as beleke for the owne sake, shall obteyne remission of synne, but workers be abiected, ne charitie shal chalēge any suche prerogatiue. What so euer ye lyke to saye, there is neither fayth ne workes, hath anye such respect of only sake as ye speake it, but only christ, for whose only sake, our fayth, our charite, beinge giuen vnto vs of god, be accepted and rewarded, by the goodnes of god. And so heare I note that lyke a shyppe without anker holde or

rother

rother, ye wander as the variable wynde tos-
seth you, and so make yawes in and oute, with-
out any right course, which no man can kepe, be-
ynge swarued from the truth. Now this I wold
knowe of you, where is your scripture to proue
that fayth certifieth eche man of his electiō, and
so declareth and openeth vnto him, the boke of
predestinatiō that eche man by faith might say,
In capite libri scriptum est de me, The knowe-
ledge of scripture assureth & certifieth eche man,
that couetouse men, glottons, fornicators, and
such as fall from that truth they haue receyued,
shalbe damned. And who is assertayned of his
frayle nature, that he shall persceuer in the truth
receyued? Faith assureth that god wyl not fayle,
yf we fayle not from hym, but where fynde you
our frayltie assured? But contrarie wyse conti-
nuall admonishmentes, To byd vs watche, by-
cause we can not tell when the theefe cōmeth. To
worke whiles it is day, bicause of the sodennes
of the night. To beware of the deuyl, that goeth
about lyke a lyon, rorynge, sekynge whom to de-
uour. To labour by good workes to make sure
our vocatiō, which were spokē al in vayne, if we
were assured by fayth. God sheweth much to his
familiars, such as haue by his singler plenteous
giftes, and their hole endeuour, of their hart and
mynde, with a feruent desire, to be continuallye
with christ, hauinge theyr conuersacion in hea-
uen, and not vpon the earth, to suche god hath
reueled as hath pleased hym, wherevpon they

Specialli re-
uelations be
out of gene-
ral doctrine,
and as Gre-
gory Nazian
zene sayeth,
specialtes in
certayne, be
no rule of the
churche.

haue of the selfe (taught by the holly goost) spoken, as by speciall reuelation hath ben shewed them of their assuraunce, as sayne Paule sayde, Certus sum, and certayne other martires. But let vs be content with gods general reuelation in scripture, and being expedient for vs, by feare of falling, to encreace our study, to exercise gods giftes, apply our self to do as is ordred, and cõmaunded without curiositie to searche that assuraunce ye speake of, which is frutefully hidde from vs, In which matter the Germaines fyrst authors of the dreame of suche assuraunce and moost certayne certainte by fayth haue in their agremẽt at the diet of Ratisbone yelded in that fondnes, and graunt that godly men beinge in fayth be troubled with the doubt of their astate. But let vs se what ye say further, in the processe of iustification.

loye. Thus we electe, called & renated of the spirit, know ꝑ father in christ and we know christ by the father which knowledge and faith draweth vs to loue god & to kepe his precepts gladly. Thus to know the father in christe and christ in hym is lyfe eternal. Out of this plentuous knowledge iustifienge vs as I saye saith springeth repentaunce, for here the synner prayeth god to conuerte him saieng with Jeremye, Lorde conuert me and I shall be conuerted, for thou Lorde arte my God, wherefore as sone as thou shalte conuerte me I shall repente me and anone as thou makest me to knowe my synnes I shall smyte my hande vpon my hippe. Now tell vs Wm, who is the author of repentaunce? or is repentaunce before fayth iustifienge or no? There is no man hauynge this knowlege and faith in God thorowe christ but he wyll anon with the publicane fall downe smyting his hande

vpon

vpon his breste sayenge, Lorde haue mercye vpon me a synner. In this knowledge we see our synnes buried in christes woundes, and no more in the stonney tables for anger caste of that most mylde Moses agenst the ground altobroken. We fele them by our fayth forgeuen in christes death & our selues iustified by his resurrection, our hertes set at peace and rest with god in christ deade for our synnes and risen agayne for our iustificacion. Whiche merciable goodnes who so beholdeth in christ crucified, he can not but of loue vnto god in christe lament & be heuye in herte that euer he shulde commit suche greuous synnes whiche could not be forgeuen without the bloodshedinge of that moost innocent & immaculate lõbe sufferynge for his enemies, which loue as it is vnspeakable, so is it incomparable.

A man (sayth Paule) wyl skant dye wyllynglye when he must nedes & iustly dye, but perchaunce wyl put him selfe in perel of death for his goodes to be saued, or ỹ mother to saue hir child. &c. But god, he cõmẽdeth his loue toward vs, in ỹ whẽ we were sinners christ wold dye for vs, much more therefore nowe we beinge iustified in his blode, shalbe preserued by him from wrath. What faithfull herte towched with this incomparable loue out of fayth and knowledge, is not humbled with feare and cõfession of his sinnes to god, and is not heuye and repentante detestinge his synnes, sayenge: Shall I any more commit that thinge whiche hath brought this my so louinge a sauiour to so shamefull and paynefull a passion. This is our fayth which cleaueth to the most certayne promise of god, and not to Wyn. wauerynge vnstable condicion. This is our fayth and substancial certitude the most ferme persuasion, without any waueringe, of the merciable free forgeuenes and gracious absolution of our synnes by the promise of our father celestial in christes blode: and hath her owen proper correllatiue the promise of god euer correspondent, and not Winch. knowledge of the fulfilling of his cõdicion. This is the forme of our iustificateon by fayth onely which attributeth al glory to god as dyd Abraham and his chylderne and as many as haue vnfaynedly receyued christes gospell. But let Wyn. worke on styll his wycked workes vnto that taynement of his pharisaicall iustificacion before men

loye.

vntyll

vntyll the are nowe bent vnto his ratis, he be sodenlye smiten downe of god. For Baalur must be turned (as Jeremy saith) into Pauor, his arrogant vpclyminge and extollinge of him selfe about god must haue a shamefull soden fearfull fall. These arrogāt articles, may be well called the false articles of Winchesters false faith, and not of christs faith. For Christ confirmed his articles euermore with the lawe and prophetes, but Winch. bringeth not one worde of god for him to proue his. Wherfore let them be his owne articles armed with his owne proude autorite. For we may not beleue him thus exaltinge him self aboue christ which euer alleged the scriptures for his doctrine to be cōfirmed, we may not beleue my Lorde vicare generall for his high lordely supercilious pharisaical lookis. Wherefore if this Gardiner will seme to be lerned, let him awnswer now with gods worde and not dispute with poore men in his fetters and presons with his fumishe threatis, fyery fagottes, prisoninge and persecutinge the poore innocent membres of christ for weldoinge, purely, frely, and faithfully preachinge gods worde, callinge of his blodhoundes into euery citie and towne to hunte out the christen simple sely flocke of christ, as he of late made Wyllyam Castelyn Gouerner of the marchaunt aduenterers at Antwerpe, cheifly to hunt out such as purely and frely write and set forth bookes vnto the glory of god, edifienge of christes church, and to warne men of Wyn. false doctrine. For this Gouerner of other men, which could neuer wel gouerne him selfe, is more mete to rowe in a galey, or to holde the plough, then to gouerne so worshipfull & honest a company. But the lorde is a lyue and heareth of these Moabites pride & blode thirstinge, he seeth their secrete wiked counsels and heareth their bostinge proude crakes, their supercilious arrogancye is well knowne vnto me sayth the Lorde: but yet for all their luciferine pride, promotinge and extollinge them selues one an other to serue their traitourouse turnes & mutuall mischeif, yet shal they neuer bringe about their wyked enforcements. For it is God that depriueth such mightye mischeuouse from their seates and exalteth the humble. It is ꝑ lorde that shaketh their wiked counsels and trappeth them in their owne pryde and blody cogitacions. But let all

christen

christen kynges and Prynces beware howe they gene
their swerde into such popishe prelates handes lest the
innocent bloude be required of god at their handes, to
whome be prayse for euer. Amen.

Truth itis, that he which knoweth nether the father
nor christ shall neuer beleue Christe to be an hole perfit
and sufficient sauiour and forgeuer of synnes, but he
shal wynd in this croked condicion of Mine. and diuide
his iustificacion part (if he geue not all) to workes, and
parte to god, as did the Iewes and nowe the Turkes &
suche like heithen miscreauntes which neuer knew god
the father in, and by Christe. yea they shall deuise and
imagyn in their own opinions (for true fayth haue they
none) such workes for gods honour as thē selues thinke
to make moost for a great kynges honour, as to be accom
panied with many men, and fetched in with many tor=
ches and candels at none daye lyghted to him, which is
the very light it selfe. These blynde worshippers wyll
make god an image therby to worship him, which idol=
latrye the seconde commaundement vtterly forbiddeth.
They wyll worshyp him with golde perle, precious sto=
nes, veluete clothe of golde. &c. They sence synge & ringe
him in with belles as they were wont to do the bishops.
They pipe him vp with orgaynes, and al the costly plea=
saunt externe rytes and ceremonies (as sencinge proces=
sions) that can be deuised for, to please great men: they
vse the same to worshyp god with all, when Christ sayd
God my father is a spirite and in spirite and truth wyl
he be worshiped. yea these worldy wycked blynde Bys=
shops are so farre caste awaye and for their wykednes
turned vp of god into their owne hertes lustes, and into
a reprobate dampned mynde that they knowe not god
fro man mortall. Oh good god what mynd may this be.
Verely Paule expresseth it and the cause why god wor=
thelye thus casteth them vp, sayenge. What soeuer men
ought to knowe of god, the same hath god shewed them,
as his almighty power and godhed: yea and that by the
creacion and creatures of the worlde if they wolde dili=
gently and humbly loke vpon and expende them, so that
they be without any excuse of any ignorance. But whē
God had geuen Winche. this knowledge of him, then
yet he worshypped nor glorified him not as god, but as he

wolde worshyp anye other worldlye prince with outewarde rites and ceremonies, neyther doth he geue him thankes, but sheweth his own vayne curiosite and curiouse vanite in his owne reasoninge and disputinge for goddes mooste glorious honour, in so muche that he hath nowe blinded his owne ignorant herte, wherein he thoughte to haue done mooste wisely for goddes worshyp and glory, there doth he moost folyshly and cruelye, shewinge hym selfe a verye foole (as Paule saith) turnynge vp the worshippe of god incorruptible thorowe his owne imaginations to worshyp hym after his owne fonde deuises. And for this cause hath god thus caste him vp thorowe his owne hertes lustis into almaner prodigiouse and beastlye fylthynes receyuinge into him selfe the worthey rewarde of his owne errour. And for because (sayth Paule) he dothe serue at naught so present knowledge of god now opened vnto hym and to al other that wyll embrace Christ and his worde, therefore doth God turne him vp into this detestable opinion of his owne false iustification and into so lothlye and abhominable reprobate bloudye mynde, that in prisoninge, persecutinge, fagottynge, burnynge, and slayenge the true professors and preachers of goddes holy worde, he shall (as Christ sayth) seme to hym selfe and such lyke, to do god high worshyp and by the fulfillynge of such wycked workes euen his owne condition, to attayne to his owne iustification before the deuill the prince of this worlde, his antichristis Pope of Rome, Cardinals, priestes &c, whose vicare generall wortheye and iustlye he yet playeth vp and downe. And all this (saithe Christe) shall this vicare generall do to you because he knoweth neyther my father nor me. This is that reprobate mynde into whiche this Gardener is nowe turned vp of god which dampned minde he declareth saying. Woo be to them that saye that thinge to be euill which thei know to be good, and that to be good which thei know to be euill. The Lorde preserue his church from suche a vicare generall. Christe kepe euerye Diocese from suche a Bisshop. The holye Goste teche all christen Princes to beware of suche a counsellier. So be it.

When

When ye haue tumbled vp the matter, with a meany of wordes (as it were) put in a sacke, truthes and vntruthes togyther: Nowe ye say that out of iustificacion, springeth repentaunce, For here the synner prayeth God to conuerte hym, sayenge with Jeremye. Lorde conuerte me, and I shall be conuerted, for thou lorde arte my god, and anone as thou shalt conuerte me, I shall smyte my hande vppon my hyppe. Hereuppon ye aske me, who is thauthor of repentaunce? And ye aske me as though I had not playnelye sayde in that ye call my last article, that man maye haue grace of God, to doo the workes of penaunce, whereby to attayne iustificacyon. The scrypture of Jeremie confirmeth, that a synner is called to penaunce, and conuerted by goddes grace, but the varyaunce betwene you and me is, whether it be before iustificacyon or no: and to that purpose, for your parte, ye bringe in no scripture, but onely your bye talke, after ye haue named scripture, and occupied the symple mans witte, with a straunge phrase of the prophette. I shall stryke my hande vppon my hyppe, And whyles the vnlearned man thinketh of that, he forgetteth the issue of ỹ matter and calleth you a noble clerke, beynge so full of scripture, as ye coulde talke of it from morne to nyght, and nede were, and thynketh I were such one, as ye do paynt me. But to the matter you saye, faith iustifienge bringeth forth penaunce, and afore ye haue tolde, that fayth iusti-

syenge for the owne sake, obteyneth remission of synne, So ye teach that after remission of synne, springeth penaunce, whiche your teachyng, the hole trade of the scripture, in the newe testament impugneth and condemneth. For as saint Johñ came before christ, so penaũce goth before remission of synne. Saynt Paule sayeth. Iohannes baptizabat, baptismo penitentiæ, dicens in eum qui uenturus esset. And Christ sayde. Iohannes baptizauit aqua, uos autem baptizabimini spiritu sancto. Saynt Peter taught after this sorte, when suche as harde him preache, were moued and asked what they shulde do? Do penaunce (sayeth he) and be eche of you baptised in the name of Jesu christ, to obteyne remissiõ of sinne. When christe expounded the scriptures, in the myddes of his disciples, after his resurrection, he said it was behoueful, christ shuld suffer & rise frõ death the thyrde daye, and to be preached in his name, penaunce & remission of synne, for all people. S, Peter also preacheth thus, Do penaũce & turne, ẏ your sinnes may be takẽ away, The prophet Ezechiell speaketh after this sort, If a wycked man doth penaunce. And you applie penaunce onely to them that be iustified. In all these places, no man hath ben so madde, to say that a synner, that is so blynded with synne, as he can not see god, can of hym selfe, turne as he shuld do, to god frutefully, without the lyght and grace of god. Who can wake out of synne, without god cal him & saith. Exurge qui dormis

Penaũce goeth before remissiõ of syn.

Ryse

Rise vp that slepest, And onlesse god hath giuen him eares, to heare this voyce of god, sayenge: Surge et illumina Ierusalē. How is any mā beyng lame with synne, able to take vp his couche and walke, onlesse god sayeth, Tolle grabatum tuum & ambula? Christe saide, he came not to call men that bosted their iustice, but to call synners to penaunce. That god calleth man, for christes sake, who by his glorious passion, hath merited fully the reconciliacion of man, no man contendeth, and that god doth minister specialli grace, and helpe man to turne to god from synne, it is agreed on with you. Moreouer that mā can not knowe god, but by faith, al must agree. and that it is impossible, to please god without faith, and that who commeth to god, muste haue faith.

The poynte of variaunce in teachinge of penaunce

Hitherto we agree, but herein ye onely differre from the fayth catholique, and catholyque teachynge, that ye wyll haue man iustified, with remission of synne, streight incontinently afore his faith be any thynge warmed, with suche an vnderstandynge, as though remission of synne, shulde go before penaunce, contrarye to the order of true doctrine. And all this wranglyng on your behalfe is, bicause ye wolde not alowe, any good worke, before remission of synne. And ye are fayne to turne all the scripture vpsidowne, for the mayntenaunce of it, And when al is done it will not be. We be taught to pray for forgiuenes of our synnes, And by your doctrine, we be forgiuen, or we begynne to praye, seynge with-

out faith iustifienge (as ye saye) I can not wor-
thely praye. I pray god, send you a better mynd,
truely instructed with his doctrine, and grace to
turne to him, from the vayne glory of the world,
wherin ye reigne, and with the tyrannye of your
tongue, persecute other mens name and fame,
most cruelly, with a counterfet forged sworde, of
authorite, vnder pretense of gods worde, where-
with ye take vpon you, to be comptrollers of the
worlde. All suche armour of witte, lernynge and
vnderstanding, as god hath gyuen you, to help,
to maintayne the semely state of Christen religi-
on, to thincreace of goddes honour, loue, quiet
and tranquillite, amonges vs: ye conuert all, to
the confusion of it, and handle the matter so, as
though god had nede of your lyes, as Iob saith.
Nunquid eget deus mēdatio, ut loquamini pro
eo dolos? Fynde you any example in the prophe-
tes or thappostles, that they wolde sclaūder men
wittingly, for auauncement of their purpose? As
for my selfe, I haue vsed your enemite so, as I
haue great good by it, I thanke almyghty god.
Ye haue ben to me, occasion of studye and dili-
gence, to spend such houres, as I myght haue at
libertie, to thincreace of knowlege, ꝑ I might be
ꝑ abler, to maintayne such truthe, as I haue lee-
ned, in gods scriptures, wherin percace I shuld
elles haue ben more negligent. And although
I haue facioned, my self outwardly, in ꝑ world,
not to contente your eyes, but haue shewed my
selfe not disagied, with your controlementes, yet

I con-

I confesse, I haue by your occasion, at some time called for grace, to refrayne worldly temptacions. Your cause, I iudge extreemely nought, to the extinction of goddes honour and subuersion of the worlde, and therfore the more ye mislyke me, and the worse ye speake of me, the more cause haue I to thanke god, to suffer so easely for his sake, as your malyce and enuye, shuld engendre me an honest reputacion in the worlde in honest mennes hartes, to be noted aduersarie to you. And as I learne, in the scriptures, and suche holy men, as haue expounded them, whereby to iudge your enterprise abhominable: So the malicious rayling of you, that be the maisters, and the spite full hatred without cause, of them that be your scolers, daylye more and more conferreth vnto me, the detestable noughtynes of that ye intend. The falsched ye teache, in the vnderstanding of scriptures, corrupteth all other truthes, in you, and transformeth them into lyes. Your lerning can not be of god, that preache so lyke the deuyl. How so euer, ye diffame me of crueltie, I knowe it is not my faulte, and yet I am a synner, and haue many other faultes. I neuer enterprysed, to defende the truthe, but in my place of ordre, where the kynges most excellent maiestie hath placed me, farre aboue my deserte and expectacion. You triumphe out of your place, and make your self, high iudge of the realme, whereunto god hath not called you. Can ye fynde in your harte, to doo so muche iniurie to the kynges ma-

iestie

ieſtie as to thinke, the ſtate of this realme, to be directed, not by his high wiſdome, to whom god hath committed it, but as I and ſuche other, for our purpoſe (as ye note) wold haue it gouerned: And if ye thinke therin otherwiſe then ye ſaye, (as for the mutual intelligence, in the fraternite, ye can not in your abſence, but knowe, how publique thynges go) is this the charitable diuiſe in the brotherhed, to choſe out me for a raylynge ſtocke, and in ieſtynge at your pleaſure of me, bringe to the kinges maieſtees knowledge, ỹ ye wold he ſhuld here ſpoken of you? Suppoſe ye, ỹ kynges maieſtie, can not vnderſtande, what ye meane by Wynchester? when ye attribute all the faſhion of the state of the realme, to Winchester: cal the actes that myſlyke you Wynchesters: al ſtatutes Wynchesters: all iuſte puniſhementes (howe ſo euer ye call them) Wynchesters: and charge all vpon Wyncheſter, that in ſo doing ye name Wyncheſter, not for Wyncheſter, but vſe the name of Wyncheſter, in ſtede of that ye dare not name and ſpeake oute. Ye abuſe herein to muche, the kynges maieſtees moſt excellent giftes, and I am aſhamed, that any part of his maieſtees glorie, in defenſe of religion from youre corruption, ſhulde be deriued vnto me, by any meane, who haue deſerued no part of it. And ſo ſhal it appere in thende, howſoeuer ye ſclaunder it, in the meane ſeaſon. I wil no further aunſwer to your raylinges in the concluſiō of your boke, but exhorte you, to call for grace, that ye maye

turne

turne, as Jeremye saith, and clappe your selfe on the hyppe, and remembre with repentaunce, how many mēnes consciences, ye haue perplexed, with your contrauersie in religion, and laboure as ye can, to retourne what ye maye. Ye haue scourged vs sharpely with your owne torment in the meane season. If I delyted in your punyshement (as ye wolde it were persuaded of me) I coulde not wisshe you a more miserable state thē thus, to here you rore and crye out like beastes, and by excesse of malyce, to speake ye wote not what. Prison and bodely death be not esteemed of all men alike, and ye haue vsed them for a tyme, as false witnes, to confirme youre falsehod for truthe, with sclaunder of the iust ministers therof. Now that hath for a while ceased and ye by lurkynge, be at libertie in talke, ye haue so disgorged your abhominacion, that laye hydden in your breste, as no man, lenger nede doubt what ye be. We could neuer get so moch by examinacion, as ye confesse in bokes & professe. Ye shulde by iustice haue dyed, with opinion of simplicite, amonge some, and nowe ye lyue with a manifest declaracion what ye haue euer ment and intended. Ye sette your selfe in prison of an encombred conscience, and dye dayly, yet liuyng, in prosecuting your mischeuouse enterprise. But retourne you vnto god, returne to youre soueraine lordes obeysaunce, returne to be a good christen man, and an englysshe man. For what so euer our faulty workes haue ben, they nothing

serue

to the iustificacion of your doctrine. Let vs all
prayе together, for mercye, mercye, mercye, nowe
most necessarye vnto vs. The name and workes
of god, haue ben so familiar in our talke, that ꝑ
reuerent feare of his maiestie is almost extincte
amonges manye. Unhappy be we, in whose time
learninge shulde be mynystred, to suche effectes.
God graunt vs to knowe him, truely and accor-
ding to his will, so to worshyp and honour him,
in bodye and soule togither, as all contencions,
debates, malice and hatred, clearely extirpate ⁊
pulled out, we maye liue here like christen men,
with christen men, and englyshe men, with en-
glysh men, whiche of a good season, hath ben by
dissention of opinions, somewhat letted and hyn
dred, whereof those haue most cause to be sorye,
to whom any parte of the faulte maye be ascri-
bed. And yet all must be sorye, for that is amysse,
⁊ eche man for his parte, begynne to amende, ⁊
with the prayer of the church, continually pray,

Deus qui errantibus, ut in uiam ueritatis possint redire, ueritatis tuæ lumen ostendis, da cunctis qui professione christiana censentur, illa respuere, quæ huic inimica sunt nomini, & quæ sunt apta sectari. Per christum dominum nostrum. Amen.

a.a.6

Fautes escaped in the printynge.

fol.	page.	lyne.	faute.	correction.
3	2	9	stanled	stanforde.
3	2	10	tidinge	tidinges
3	2	17	peace	pece
5	2	30	freters	freres
12	1	5	pached	patched
14	2	22	saith I say	saith Isai
21	1	18	Ino	And
23	1	26	suety	euery
25	2	21	cõmanuded	cõmaũded
34	2	18	entented	entended
38	2	19	continaũce	cõtinuaũce
46	2	19	contempe	contempte
51	2	5	malious	malicious
78	2	1	not can	can not
80	2	20	slaunder	sclaunder
85	2	25	merickull	mercifull

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